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ARTICLE I.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

THE STATESMEN OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, with a Treatise on the Popular Progress of English History. By JOHN FORSTER, of the Inner Temple. Edited by J. O. CHOULES. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1846. 647 pp. Svo.

BY THE EDITOR.

NEXT in interest to the history of our own country is the history of England. And no period of English history is more thrilling in its character than the period of the Commonwealth. We love to recur to that strong, stern age of intellectual vigor, of noble heroism, of patriotic zeal, of honorable daring, of Christian hope. There are other features of that period, besides its political scheming, its secret cabals, the selfish cunning of some of its statesmen, and the thorough hypocrisy of others. England was not wholly given up to that ambitious spirit which, in its grasping avarice, rides into power without scruple, over the ruins of thrones and through the blood of the slain. And the gloomy predominance of the baser passions prepares us to dwell with devout respect and ardent interest upon the noble self-denial of a select few, to whom it has happened to be duly appreciated only since death has set his seal upon their virtues. For men there were, who hazarded life and fortune for the welfare of their country,

and who expiated their high-minded patriotism by an ignominious death. Of such patriots, the epoch of the English Commonwealth furnished several sterling specimens.

We have another reason to be interested in this period of English history. It was the age in which the piety of the Puritans was making itself felt, in all ranks of society. The citizens in the common walks of life were moved by its force. The foundations of government were shaken by its influence. The choice spirits of the church were either transporting themselves to the inhospitable shores of New England, there to lay the corner-stone of an empire for God, or else they were laboring at home to establish a kingdom on the principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ. The disorders and dissatisfactions which preceded the period of the Commonwealth, including the prevailing spirit of religious intolerance, the overbearing claims of the church, the arrogant exactions of the rulers, and the various oppressions under which the people of God were made to groan, compelled them to feel that their hope was not in man but in God. Under the feelings induced by the prevailing state of things, some, still cleaving to the endearments of their native land, betook themselves to prayer and to efforts after reform. Some, in the exercise of the martyr spirit, abjured home and friends, and came to "a waste, howling wilderness," that they might enjoy "freedom to worship God." The pioneers of the noble band had already encountered the first hardships incident to an infant settlement on a bleak and barren coast, in the neighborhood of savages, and in the depth of winter. The tide had now set towards the shores of America. And, during the half century following the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth, many of the Christian people of England from the common walks of life, some of the wealthy and refined, and a few of noble blood,—besides the servants of God from the altar, had found their way across the ocean. These, our revered ancestors, stood in the closest relations to those whom they had left behind. In the times that tried men's souls in the mother country, there were the aged parents that had nurtured them, still lingering, in many cases, among the living. There were the sepulchres of the loved and honored dead. There were the brothers and sisters,

whose names were the dearer to them on account of the distance which divided them. There were the churches, where they had bowed and worshipped. There were the institutions, venerable by antiquity, and upheld by men whom they could not but esteem, with all their faults;—institutions under which they had been reared into manhood, and which they still loved and cherished. They were made sick by the abuse of them; but they admired those elementary principles in them, which were founded on the basis of righteousness and truth. They modelled the new government, substantially, upon them, and were willing to live and die by them. Our Puritan ancestors form the connecting link between this and the father-land. It is through them that we trace up our history to a point where the lines run into one. And it is in the period of the English Commonwealth, including the few preceding years, when things were evidently tending to this issue, that we find the point of this coincidence. Here is our origin, and our paternity. Here sprang up the seeds of those opinions concerning government and religion, concerning the liberty of man and freedom of conscience, which have since borne an abundant harvest. Here were laid the first courses of the monument of political equality, which time has wrought into a noble structure for the world to gaze upon. Noble were the founders of the edifice, who came to the land of the pilgrims, workmen that need not to be ashamed. And noble also were others, equally near to us in the original ties of nationality and in the bond of pious faith and free opinion, who, as many historians affirm, lacked but little of joining the company who embarked their fortunes for Plymouth rock. How can we be otherwise than interested in them?

The work of Mr. Forster is a minute and accurate detail of the life of seven of the principal statesmen of that eventful period:—Sir John Eliot, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, John Pym, John Hampden, Sir Henry Vane, the younger, Henry Marten, and Oliver Cromwell. The English edition is in five volumes; the American edition comprises the whole in one stately octavo. The engravings are copied with the most scrupulous accuracy from the original edition. For its dignity, completeness and beauty, the work is a worthy ornament of this or of any age. Dr. Choules has performed an acceptable service

for the American public, in bringing these biographies within the reach of all.

Many interesting topics spring out of the volume, which we cannot allow ourselves, at present, to discuss. So crowded are the pages of each of the biographies with interesting and thrilling incident, that we dare not even undertake to present an abstract of the several lives, as a key to the events of that stormy era. The most that we can venture is to offer a brief sketch of the private and personal character of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, as the most important personage of the number, and the presiding genius in those scenes of revolution which resulted in the temporary change of government, and the ignominious execution of Charles I on the scaffold.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, April 25th, 1599. He was the son of a brewer; but he was able to trace his descent, on both sides, to noble blood. His father was a man of respectable abilities, and lived frugally, depending chiefly on the profits of his trade for a living. The brew-house was managed principally by Mrs. Cromwell and the servants;—the accounts being all brought to the mistress. After the death of her husband, the widow “did continue in the same employment and calling of a brewer, and thought it no disparagement to sustain the estate and post of a younger brother, as Mr. Robert Cromwell was, by those lawful means.” The father of the Protector seems to have been a man of humble tastes, quiet, unambitious and retiring. He was once elected to a seat in Parliament from the borough of Huntingdon; but he soon forsook the trials of public life, and seems afterwards never to have held any office which called him beyond the limits of his native town. Mrs. Cromwell, the mother of Oliver, was a woman of rare energy and excellence. In the character of the mother, we cannot fail to see some of the elements of greatness which afterwards shone so conspicuously in her distinguished son. Mr. Forster has drawn a very glowing picture of this honorable matron.

“An interesting person indeed,” he says, “was this mother of Oliver Cromwell—a woman with the glorious faculty of self-help when other assistance failed her. Ready for the demands of fortune in its extremest adverse time—of spirit and energy equal to her mildness and patience—who, with the labor of her own hands, gave dowries to five

daughters sufficient to marry them into families as honorable, but more wealthy than her own—whose single pride was honesty, and whose passion, love—who preserved in the gorgeous palace at Whitehall the simple tastes that distinguished her in the old brewery at Huntingdon—whose only care amidst all her splendors, was for the safety of her beloved son in his dangerous eminence—finally, whose closing wish, when that anxious care had outworn her strength, accorded with her whole modest and tender history,—for it implored a simple burial in some country church-yard, rather than those ill-suited trappings of state and ceremony wherewith she feared, and with reason feared, that his highness, the lord protector of England, would have carried her to some royal tomb! There is a portrait of her at Winchinbrook which, if that were possible, would increase the interest she inspires and the respect she claims. The mouth, so small and sweet, yet full and firm as the mouth of a hero—the large melancholy eyes—the light pretty hair—the expression of quiet affectionateness suffused over the face, which is so modestly enveloped in a white satin hood—the simple beauty of the velvet cardinal she wears, and the richness of the small jewel that clasps it—seem to present before the gazer her living and breathing character.”

Oliver Cromwell passed to his greatness through a childhood and youth which gave little promise of his subsequent elevation. The narratives of his earlier years exhibit few indications of the character which he was to attain, and show in him but slender qualifications for the dignities which he was destined to wear. Heath remarks that “from his infancy, he was of a cross and peevish disposition, which, being humoured by the fondness of his mother, made that rough and intractable temper more robust and outrageous in his juvenile years, and adult and masterless at man’s estate.” Various traditions are preserved respecting his infantile years; some of which, doubtless, are false, and others may be founded in truth. Thus it is related that when he was in the arms, on one occasion a monkey seized him from the cradle, and “ran with him upon the lead that covered the roofing of the house.” The family, alarmed, brought beds to catch him upon, in case the monkey should drop him; but after a time he brought him down in safety. At another time, he was saved from drowning by the curate of Cunnington. Cromwell, at a late period, in a march at the head of his troops, kindly called upon the curate, and asked him if he recollected the service he had done him? “Yes,” replied he, “I do; but I wish I had put you in, rather than see you here in arms against your king.”

He had a wayward and violent temper; this temper was unrestrained when he was at home, through the misguided love and womanish weakness of his mother; at school he was the victim of the severity of a tyrannical master. These things combined to give a direction to his character in early life. Had his rudeness and violence been controlled at home by a firm, but steady and gentle government, and had his master at school exercised a somewhat more generous spirit towards his charge, it might be that he would never have learned those lessons of tyranny, which he afterwards practised; or that, having learned them, he would have scorned to use them, at least against his monarch. But wrong principles implanted in the young mind, or suffered to remain there, will ever yield a ruinous harvest of folly, cruelty and crime.

Cromwell received the elements of his education at the free-school of Huntingdon; thence he proceeded to Cambridge, and was entered a student of Sydney Sussex College, "when within two days of completing his seventeenth year." At school, our author remarks, "he was active and resolute—capable of tremendous study, but by no means always inclined to it—with a vast quantity of youthful energy, which exploded in vast quantities of youthful mischief—and finally, not at all improved by an unlimited system of flogging adopted by his school-master." The Life before us gives but a sorry account of his character as a young scholar, destined to act so prominent a part in the history of one of the most cultivated nations on earth.

"From A B C discipline," says one of his biographers, "and the slighted governance of a mistress, his father removed him to the tuition of Dr. Beard, school-master of the free-school of that town, where his book began to persecute him, and learning to commence his great and irreconcilable enemy; for his master, honestly and severely observing that, and others his faults, (which like weeds sprang out of his rank and uncultivable nature,) did, by correction, hope to better his manners; and with a diligent hand and careful eye to hinder the thick growth of those vices which were so predominant and visible in him.

"The learning and civility he had, coming upon him like fits of enthusiasm, now a hard student, for a week or two, and then a truant or otioso for twice as many months,—of no settled constancy. Amongst the rest of those ill qualities which fructuated in him at this age, he was very notorious for robbing of orchards; a puerile crime and an

ordinary trespass, but grown so scandalous and injurious by the frequent spoyles and damages of trees, breaking of hedges and inclosures, committed by this apple-dragon, that many solemn complaints were made, both to his father and master, for redress thereof, which missed not their satisfaction and expiation out of his hide; on which so much pains were lost that that very offence ripened in him afterwards to the throwing down of all boundaries of law or conscience. From this he passed unto another more manly theft, the robbing of dove-houses, stealing the young pidgeons, and eating and merchandizing of them, and that so publicly that he became dreadfully suspect to all the adjacent country."

To these crimes against the laws, the misguided young man added other petty indiscretions, cruelly annoying to those who happened to suffer under them. He once attended at a Christmas festival at the house of his uncle, Sir Oliver Cromwell, to which he had been invited with a large circle of relatives and young persons. The amusements included, besides feasting, dancing and music, other sports and games common to that age on such occasions. In the midst of the merry making, young Oliver "besmeared his clothes and gloves with the most nauseous filth," and assailed every one that came in his way, rendering the room so offensive that it could scarcely be endured. His depraved amusement brought with it, however, serious consequences. He was taken out and ducked in a neighboring pond, which must have been a most uncomfortable operation to be endured on a cold Christmas night; and still worse than that, he lost the friendship of his uncle, who became so alienated that he could not endure the sight of him.

Cromwell was as little inclined to study and as irregular in his habits at Cambridge, as he had been hitherto in his preparatory course. Though he gained a very good knowledge of Latin, such that he could use it readily, in his manhood, in communicating with foreign ambassadors, he spent most of his time among drinking companions, and in boisterous games, and "he had the name of a royster among most that knew him." His residence at the University seems to have been of little service to him in a literary point of view; and in a little more than a year, on account of the death of his father, he was withdrawn from Cambridge, and after a short time entered as a member of Lincoln's Inn. But here also he gave him-

self less to the law than to unbridled license, and soon he returned to Huntingdon, "a finished London rake."

During a season after his return home, he was the terror of all the country around; he gave himself up to drinking and to boisterous society, having little respect even to the rights of others, and boldly insulting the females whom he met in the streets. It was truly a dark career, which he had run thus far; how unpromising in reference to his future destination! And yet we can easily see that he was receiving, in so miserable a school, the training which was to fit him for his strange task. He studied not books, but men. He became familiar with the human mind in its rough, as well as in its cultivated state. He watched the principles of action, in souls uncovered and unguarded, and learned in what way he could influence and lead men about in accomplishing his subsequent purposes. Notwithstanding the mental indolence and the love of mischief in which he indulged himself, he was, beyond all question, a man of strong powers, and a keen observer of men, of actions, and of events. And the courses which would ruin a weaker man, or which would unfit him for energetic action, he was able to turn to account in promoting, in some respects, his qualifications for the part he was to act in the world. If he became, as we have some good reason to hope, a true Christian, the excesses into which he had fallen illustrated the more the power of God in his conversion; and the traits of character which seduced him into those excesses, as in the case of St. Paul, when placed under the controlling influence of religion, were useful, rather than injurious, as instruments of his higher efficiency.

After his marriage, Cromwell seems to have become deeply interested in religion. His whole course of life was changed. He forsook his boisterous and wicked companions, and made his house an asylum of religious persons and dissenting ministers. The ribald jest and roystering laugh gave place to the voice of prayer. The time which had hitherto been consecrated to riot and sin was now consecrated to acts of piety; and he seemed as much devoted to religion as he had ever been to the world. We have read with interest a letter of his, addressed to his cousin, the wife of Oliver St. John, and dated at Ely, October 13, 1638. The air of perfect sincerity and the

truly humble and earnest spirit which pervades it, will not suffer us to look upon it with suspicion. The letter is preserved in Thurber's State Papers.

"Deere Cozen ;—I thankfully acknowledge your love in your kind remembrance of mee, upon this opportunitye. Alas, you doe too highlye prize my lines and my Companie. I may bee ashamed to owne your expressions, consideringe how unprofitable I am, and the meane improvement of my tallent. Yett to honour my God by declaringe what hee hath done for my soule, in this I am confident and I will be soe. Trulye then this I finde, that he giveth springes in a drye and barren wilderness, where no water is. I live (you know where) in Mesheck, which they say signifies prolonginge; in Kedar, which signifieth blacknesse; yett the Lord forsaketh mee not. Though hee doe prolonge yett he will (I trust) bringe mee to his Tabernacle, to his resting place. My soule is with the congregation of the first borne, my body rests in hope; and if here I may honour my God either by doeing or sufferinge, I shal be most glad. Truly noe poore creature hath more cause to putt forth himselfe in the cause of his God than I. I have had plentifull wadges beforehand; and I am sure I shall never earne the least mite. The Lord accept me in his sonn, and give mee to walke in the light, and give us to walke in the light, as hee is in the light. Hee it is that inlighteneth our blacknesse, our darknesse. I dare not say, hee hydeth his face from mee. He giveth me to see light in his light. One beame in a darke place hath exceedinge much refreshment in it; blessed be his name for shining upon so dark a hart as mine. You knowe what my manner of life hath bine. O, I lived in, and loved darknesse, and hated the light; I was a chiefe, the chiefe of sinners. This is true, I hated Godlinesse, yett God had mercy onn mee. O the riches of his mercy! Praise him for mee, pray for mee, that he whoe hath begunn a good worke, would perfect it to the day of Christ. Salute all my good freinds in that family, whereof you are yett a member. I am much bound unto them for there love. I blesse the Lord for them, and that my sonn by there procurement is so well. Lett him have your prayers, your Councell; lett me have them. Salute your husband and sister from mee. He is not a man of his word; he promised to write about Mr. Wrath of Epinge, but as yett I received noe letters. Putt him in mind to doe what with conveniency may be donn for the poore cozen I did sollicit him about. Once more farewell; the Lord bee with you; soe prayeth your trulye lovinge Cozen, OLIVER CROMWELL. My wife's service and love presented to all her friends."

The religious spirit indicated in this letter, Cromwell carried out in practice. He lived, at least for a season, what he here expressed. Whatever hypocrisy he might have been guilty of at a later period, he evidently strove to live a new life under the incitement of religious considerations. Beyond a doubt, he was a wholly altered

man. And we can scarcely conceive that any thing but religion could have produced so sudden and so complete a revolution in his habits of life.

At about the age of 21, Cromwell was married,—in the year 1620. In 1628, he was returned a member of Parliament from the borough of Huntingdon. In 1631, he stocked a small farm at St. Ives, and removed thither with his wife and children. But he made religion a business, much more than farming. “The greater part of his time, even upon his farm,” says our author, “was passed in devotional exercises, and expositions, and prayer.” The servants were called together from their labor to attend to protracted religious exercises, morning and evening. Cromwell seemed for a season, resolved literally, to “seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness.” Thus did he show the sincerity of his repentance of his youthful excesses. He was animated in this, not as some of his biographers suggest, by hypochondriasm; not, we believe, by a hypocritical spirit; but, as we trust, by the genuine spirit of religion. And thus he was preparing, in more ways than one, for the wide sphere of influence which he was destined afterwards to fill.

The appearance of Cromwell at his first entering the parliament house at Westminster must have been sufficiently striking. We quote a description of his person, as containing a lively portraiture of the man.

“His gait was clownish, his dress ill-made and slovenly, his manners coarse and abrupt, and his face such as men look on with a vague feeling of admiration and dislike. The features cut as it were out of a piece of gnarled and knotty oak; the nose large and red; the cheeks coarse, wasted, wrinkled and sallow; the eye-brows huge and shaggy, but, glistening from beneath them, eyes full of depth and meaning, and, when turned to the gaze, piercing through and through the gazer; above these, again, a noble forehead, whence, on either side, an open flow of hair round from his parted forelock manly hangs, clustering; and over all and pervading all, an undefinable aspect of greatness.”

The biographers of Cromwell speak very disparagingly of his personal appearance at this time and subsequently. When he resided on his farm at St. Ives, his appearance almost every Sabbath at the parish church was such as to attract general attention, and to impress itself indelibly on the memory. He wore “an ill-arranged dress, with a

piece of red flannel fastened around his throat to protect him from the frequent inflammations to which the sharp cold and excessive moisture of the air had painfully exposed him." Dr. South, in one of his sermons, alluding to Cromwell's first appearance in Parliament, speaks of him as "a bankrupt, beggarly fellow, with a threadbare, torn coat and greasy hat, and perhaps neither of them paid for." And although we may make some allowance for the spirit of a man, ardently loving the established order of things, and in the present instance doubtless angling for a bishopric, still, Cromwell must have been sufficiently removed from neatness in his personal appearance, to give any credibility or currency to such a description of him. Sir Philip Warwick speaks of him, as he appeared in Parliament, as "very ordinarily apparelled," in a "plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hatband. His stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable; and his eloquence full of fervor." Lord Digby, in addressing Hampden on the day spoken of above, and inquiring for the name of Cromwell, used the following language;—"Pray, Mr. Hampden, who is that man—that sloven, that spoke just now; for I see he is on our side by his speaking so warmly?" Hampden answered,— "That sloven whom you see before you hath no ornament in his speech—that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the king, which God forbid! in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England."

Yet when a suitable time came, and Oliver was the tenant of the palace at Whitehall, he knew how to change his ordinary garb for habiliments becoming his state.

Possibly, Oliver might have taken some pride in his uncouth appearance. A story is related of him averring this suggestion. On the eve of his assumption of the protectorate, sitting for his portrait, he instructed the young man who painted it "that he was not to inflict any 'nonsense' on the canvas; but paint wrinkles, warts and all." That wicked wit, the author of *Hudibras*, who

turned every thing into ridicule, says of him, "Cromwell wants neither wardrobe nor armour; his face was naturally buff, and his skin may furnish you with a rusty coat of mail; you would think he had been christened in a lime pit, and tanned alive." The wags of the age, small and great, made all manner of fun of the Protector's nose; that important organ either naturally wore a ruby air, or received an artificial tinge by "Noll's" early and excessive familiarity with the good-cheer of his father's brewery. A little volume might be formed of the witticisms perpetrated against this persecuted member. But such undignified follies only exhibit the weakness and irreverence of human nature.

The character of Cromwell was made up of strange paradoxes. At times a man of steadfast purpose, he knew how to "set his face like a flint," and to command men with imperious authority, in order to secure the accomplishment of his wishes. Again, laying aside his dignity, and assuming a most meek, submissive and pious air, he would seek the effectuation of his ends by prayers and tears. He had, as his biographers affirm, "a faculty to be fluent in his tears," "spongie eyes," and "an extraordinary fluxional faculty of tears." At one time, he seemed wholly absorbed in religion, as if he could live and breathe only in its spirit; at another, he lost all sense of religious dignity, and became almost germain to a court fool. Even in the midst of that most affecting scene—the signing of the death warrant of Charles I,—he is said to have been "in great sport," as he advanced to the table with the pen, laughingly marking Marten's face with ink, which Marten returned with interest. He had an extraordinary fondness for buffoonery. "He kept four buffoons at Whitehall, and generally, when inclined to sport, made himself a fifth." Some of the table-scenes and boyish frolicks of Oliver, after he came to the protectorate, are painfully unmanly and disgusting. If such follies were the efforts of a mind ill at ease, to procure a temporary diversion, we cannot justify them; the pursuits of elegant literature and the consolations of religion would have been far more effectual, as well as more dignified and worthy. If they are to be regarded as indicative of his prevailing taste, it would seem that his piety must be either of a very dubious character, or at a

very low ebb. We are more willing to attribute them to the weakness of the age, and to the folly and inconsistency, the infirmity and the childishness of human nature. The inconsistencies of Cromwell's character were very marked and striking. At one time he manifested great calmness and power of self-government, quietly reasoning with those who differed from him, and eventually by his ingenuity bringing them over to his own opinions. At another, the slightest opposition threw him into a violent passion, and transformed him, as it were, into a temporary madman. Now he despised honor and office, affirming that he would have been glad to have lived under his own wood-side, to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than to have undertaken the government; and now he is evidently planning with the most wily acuteness to secure to himself every thing that belongs to the estate of a king. In many of his public official acts, he appears stern, rough and unfeeling; like a man without a heart, or in whom the gentler qualities of human nature were crushed, or had died out. In private life, on the contrary, he exhibits the most unalloyed affection and tenderness. Of this we have fine examples in some of his letters to his wife, and especially in his concern manifested for the Lady Elizabeth Claypole, his favorite daughter. When she was on her death-bed, "public affairs, private dangers, his own bodily pains—all were thrust aside for the greater love, and the more unselfish sorrow, and he hurried to Hampton Court to watch by her bedside her slightest wish,—to alleviate, or console, or share her dying thoughts and sufferings. The lord protector of three great kingdoms became the protector of his child alone."

We cannot help admiring the religious spirit that so often appears in the Protector, nor can we persuade ourselves that it was all hypocrisy. Neither its beginning nor its frequent developments were such as to mark him as, beyond doubt, a Judas Iscariot. It is true that in many things he acted unworthily of the Christian spirit and temper. He was guilty of many inconsistencies. He appeared, under various circumstances, in attitudes, which, if we had no other materials of judging him, would compel us to withhold from him the name of a saint. But we see him, in his public and private history, in a

variety of attitudes. We see him under various emergencies. And we are under obligation to judge him, not by one act, but by his whole course of action. We ought to take into account the character of that age, the necessary developments of piety under such influences as then prevailed, the peculiarities of his own education and early life, the singular position in which he stood, the anxieties, cares, responsibilities and difficulties of that position, and the strong temptations by which he was undoubtedly assailed. No other man has stood in so perilous a situation. Few could sustain it. It must have demanded iron nerves, a cool head, a steady hand; and much of the grace of God. And if the restraints of God's grace or the aids of his wisdom were, for any reason, temporarily withdrawn, we cannot be surprised that this Samson was as weak as other men. Such was his character and course of life previous to his supposed conversion, that he seems to us not the man to have played the hypocrite to such an extent, for so long a period, and with such success. We have doubted whether, in almost any specified instance, it is right to charge him with insincerity. It is, moreover, a circumstance in his favor, that while the cloak of religion was over his public acts, which have been suspected, as if the religion were assumed to blind men's eyes to his sinister purposes, his private acts, conversations and letters, exhibit still more of the same devout spirit. Forster remarks that "in the general affairs of his household, in so far as religion and religious observances were concerned, he was strict and even in some cases exacting." Richard Baxter, who was not readily to be deceived by appearances, says of him, "I think that, having been a prodigal in his youth, and afterwards changed to a zealous religiousness, he meant honestly in the main, and was pious and conscionable in the main course of his life, till prosperity and success corrupted him." In speaking of the desire of Cromwell to have the troop of horse which he commanded, composed of religious men, the same distinguished divine adds, "I conjecture, that at his first choosing such men into his troop, it was the very esteem and love of religious men that principally moved him." This testimony is of much value. We find also many acts of Cromwell's, which indicate a regard for religion and a practical belief of it

and interest in it. In many things he seems to have recognized its authority, and to have acted voluntarily in accordance with its dictates, on occasions when even good men might, without reproach, have omitted its outward performances. We look with unfeigned interest and approval, not to say with wonder also, on that troop of fierce men, hushed by their fiery leader into reverent silence, on the eve of an engagement, while he expounded to them a portion of the word of inspiration, and then bowed with them in prayer before the God of armies. At the opening of the campaign of 1643, an unexpected collision of the two bodies having taken place, Cromwell in an instant circulated through the ranks of his followers, "the watch-word, TRUTH and PEACE; gave out a psalm, which the officers and men at once, as the Greek soldiers took up their song of freedom, uplifted with united voices, and then rushed, on Cromwell's word to charge, in the name of the Most High, on the astonished enemy." On the day of the battle of Naseby, the army of Cromwell, "in the dawn of the morning, sung a psalm in praise of their God." Many similar instances might be cited. That was truly a sublime spectacle. To see a thousand or thousands of men, clad in mail and bristling with instruments of war, flushed with the expectation of conquest and ready to rush forward with their general to death or victory, bending their knees before God, in acknowledgment of their dependence, and imploring divine succor,—or, instead of the clangor of the martial trumpet, to hear them lifting up their united voices in a psalm of praise,—must have impressed a spectator with reverent feelings; it must have strengthened the conviction of the reality and beauty of religion; it must have suggested the thought that the leader who encouraged such proceedings among his troops, must either be a man of prayer and a man of God, or a more servile, reckless and remorseless hypocrite than even Cromwell himself has usually been taken to be.

It was in allusion to the religious zeal which the Protector infused into his army and carried with him into his battles, that Marchmont Needham, in his spirited manner, said—"On went Noll Cromwell in the might of his spirit, with his swords and Bibles, and with all his train of disciples; every one of whom is as a David, a man of war

and a prophet; gifted men all, that have resolved to their work better than any of the sons of Levi, and are rushing through England with their two-edged swords and Bibles, to convert the Gentiles."

It is related that "the notion of a particular faith in prayer prevailed much in Cromwell's court; and that it was a common opinion among them that such as were in a special manner favored of God, when they offered up prayers and supplications to him for his mercies, either for themselves or others, often had such impressions made on their minds and spirits by a divine hand, as signified to them not only in the general that their prayers would be heard and graciously answered, but that the particular mercies that were sought for would be certainly bestowed." Cromwell held this "notion," for which Forster, incapable of appreciating it, brands him with the charitable charge of enthusiasm. But Cromwell acted upon the "notion," and believed that in more instances than one his faith in it had been confirmed. On the eve of the battle of Dunbar, being reduced to great straits, "he called his officers to a day of seeking the Lord;" and, as Burnet affirms, "he loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards; he said he felt much enlargement of heart in prayer, and such quiet upon it, that he bade all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. After Bristol had fallen into the hand of Cromwell's army, he writes to Parliament,—“They that have been employed in this service know that faith and prayer obtained this city for you; I do not say ours only, but of the people of God with you and all England over, who have wrestled with God for a blessing in this very thing.” When he was nominated to the protectorate, he “requested that two officers from each corps might meet him at Whitehall, and seek the Lord in prayer. After a delay of two weeks, he condescended to submit his shoulders to the burthen, because he had learned it was the will of Heaven.”

Besides this class of evidences in his favor, we may add that Cromwell was addressed by his contemporaries on religious topics, as a sincere Christian. This fact, it is true, would not in itself establish his claim to a reputation for piety. But that good men, with whom he was

in habits of intimacy, who saw him in public and private, and on all occasions, and who were familiar with his personal habits and his secret counsels, detected no hypocrisy in him, that they gave no intimations of any suspicions concerning him, and that they addressed to him in private letters those encouragements, advices and suggestions, which would have been wholly useless and unappreciated by him, if he were not a true Christian, but only a devout Pharisee,—these things seem to us presumptive arguments in favor of his sincerity. Among the letters of the description now referred to, we quote two specimens.

“My dear lord,” exhorts Harrison, “lett waiting upon Jehovah bee the greatest and most considerable business you have every daie ; reckon itt soe more then to eate, sleepe or counsell together. Run aside sometimes from your companie, and gett a word with the Lord. Why should not you have three or four precious soules allwaies standing att your elbow, with whom you might now and then turne into a corner. I have found refreshment and mercie in such a waie. Ah, the Lord of compassion owne, pittie your burdens, care for you, stand by and refresh your hearte each moment. I would I could in anie kind doe you good, my heart is with you, and my poore praies to my God for you. The Allmightie Father carrie you in his very bosome, and deliver you (if itt bee his will) from touching a very haire of anie for whom Jesus hath bled. I expect a very gracious return in this particular.”

The other letter is from J. Bradshawe, who pronounced the sentence of death upon Charles I, and exhibits a very earnest sense of religious considerations, together with a manifest conviction that the consolations contained in the letter would be appreciated and valued by Cromwell.

“My lord,—By the hands of this trustie bearer, accept, I pray you, of this paper remembrance and salutation from him who both upon the publique and his owne pryvate account is verie much your dettor, and with other your poore friends here praies for and adores the manifestation of God’s gracious presence with you in all your weyghty affairs ; which, as they are undertaken in zeale to God’s glory and his people’s good, will through continuance of the same dyvine presence and mercy, be crowned with answerable successe ; and whosoever belonge to God in the nation where you are, will, in the close of all, have cause to say *perissemus nisi perissemus*. In the mean tyme, God can and will tame those stubborn spirits and convince them of their hypocrysy who create you all this trouble, and give a mercifull testimony to the sinceritie of his poore servants’ hearts who have appealed unto him. My lord, I forbear particularizing things here ; only this, God is gracious to us in dyscovery of many of our enemies desygnes (which thereby have

proved abortive,) and delyvering their counceles in a good measure into our hands; and in watching over the common safetie, there is much acknowledgement due to the indefatigable industrie of M. Generall Harrison, your faithfull servant and substitute in that worke here. Your lordship will shortly heare of some numbers of godly persons in a regimentall forme here in London, whose example will be followed by others of lyke good mynd in Norwich, Kent and other places, who have sent for commissions to us for that purpose, and our resolution is they shall not want incouragement. My Lord, I will trespasse no further upon your tyme. The Lord of hosts be with you; the God of Jacob be your refuge. The humblest of your welwillers, friends and servants,
J. BRADSHAWE."

We have alluded to private letters written by Cromwell himself, which seem to favor the supposition of his sincerity as a Christian. In these letters to his most intimate friends, and to members of his own family, he appears in the undress of life. He has no temptation to play a part. Then it is, if ever, that a man lays aside all disguise. When he unbosoms himself to his confidential friends and associates, he exhibits himself, if ever, just as he is, without ornament, without dissimulation. We quote two or three examples of this correspondence, as specimens of the whole.

In writing to lord Wharton, in the year 1647, he says—

"My lord,—You knowe how untoward I am att this businesse of writinge; yett a word. I beseech the Lord make us sensible of this great mercye heere, which suerlye was much more then . . . the house expresseth. I trust (. . . the goodness of our God) time and oportunitye to speak of itt with you face to face. When wee think of our God, what are wee! Oh his mercye to the whole societie of Sainets, despised, jeered sainets. Lett them mocke on. Would wee were all sainets; the best of us are (God knows) poore weake sainets, yett sainets; if not sheepe, yett lambes, and must bee fedd. We have daile bread, and shall have itt in despite of all enimies. There's enough in our Father's house, and he disparseth itt. . . . I thinke through theise outward mercyes (as wee call them) fayth, patience, love, hope, all are exercised and perfected, yea Christ formed and growes to a perfect man within us."

A still better specimen is contained in a letter written three years later, "on the very eve of his usurpation," and addressed to the Rev. John Cotton, one of the ministers of Boston, New England.

"Worthy Sir and my Christian Friend—I receaved yours a few days sithence; it was welcome to mee because signed by you, whome I love

and honour in the Lord. But more to see some of the same grounds of our actinges stirring in you, that have in us to quiet us in our worke, and support us therein; which hath had greatest difficultye in our engagement with Scotland, by reason wee have had to doe with some, who were (I verily thinke) godly, but through weaknesse and the subtiltie of Satan, involved in interest against the Lord and his people. With what tendernesse wee have proceeded with such, and that in synceritie, our papers (which I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest, and I give you some comfortable . . . assurance off. The Lord hath marvelously appeared even against them. And now againe when all the power was devolved into the Scottish Kinge and the malignant partye, they invadinge England, the Lord rayned upon them such snares as the enclosed will shew, only the narrative is short in this, that of their whole armie when the narrative was framed, not five of their whole armie returned. Surely Sr the Lord is greatly to bee feared, as to be praised. Wee need your prayers in this as much as ever: how shall wee behave ourselves after such mercyes? What is the Lord a doeing? What prophesies are now fulfilling? Who is a God like ours? To knowe his will, to doe his will, are both of him. . . I tooke this libertye from businesse to salute you thus in a word. Truly I am ready to serve you and the rest of our brethren and the churches with you. I am a poore, weake creature, and not worthy the name of a worme, yet accepted to serve the Lord and his people. Indeed, my dear friend, between you and mee, you know not mee; my weaknesse, my inordinate passions, my unskilfulnesse, and every way unfittnesse to my worke; yett, yett, the Lord, who will have mercye on whome he will, does as you see. Pray for mee; salute all Christian friends though unknown. I rest your affectionate friend to serve you.

O. CROMWELL."

We subjoin a single specimen more, a letter to "hys beloved daughter, Bridget Ireton."

"Deere Daughter,—I write not to thy husband, partly to avoid trouble, for one line of mine begitts many of his, which I doubt makes him sitt up too late; partly because I am myselfe indisposed att this tyme; havinge some other considerations. Your friends att Ely are well; your sister Claypole is (I trust in mercye) exercised with some perplexed thoughts. She sees her owne vanitye and carnal minde. Bewaillinge it; shee seekes after (as I hope alsoe) that wch will satisfie. And thus to be a seeker is to be of the best sect next a finder, and such an one shall every faythfull humble seeker bee at the end. Happie seeker, happie finder. Whoe ever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sence of self-vanitye and badnesse? Whoe ever tasted that graciousnesse of his, and could goe lesse in desier, and lesse then pressinge after full enjoyment? Deere hart, presse on; lett not husband, lett not any thinge, coole thy affections after Christ. I hope hee will be an occasion to enflame them. That wch is best worthy of love in thy husband is that of the image of Christ hee bears. Looke on that and love it best, and all the rest for that. I pray for thee and him; doe so for me. My service and dear affection to the

Generall and Generallesse. I heere she is very kind to thee ; it adds to all other obligations. My love to all. I am thy deere father,
O. CROMWELL."

To these we wish to add portions of a letter of condolence addressed to one of his brothers-in-law, on the occasion of the death of a son, in the battle of Marston Moor. After relating the circumstances of the battle, and of the young man's death, he proceeds—

"Sir, you know my tryalls this way, but the Lord supported mee with this, that the Lord tooke him into the happiness wee all pant after and live for. There is your precious child, full of glory, to know sinn nor sorrow any more. Hee was a gallant younge man, exceedinge gracious. God give you his comfort. Before his death hee was so full of comfort, that to Frank Russell and myself hee could not expresse it, itt was soe great above his fame. This he sayd to us. Indeed itt was admirable. . . . But few knew him ; for hee was a precious younge man, fitt for God. You have cause to blesse the Lord. He is a glorious saint in heaven, wherein you ought exceedingly to rejoyce. Lett this drinke up your sorrowe. Seinge theise are not fayned words to comfort you ; but the thing is soe real and undoubted a truth. You may doe all thinges by the strength of Christ. Seeke that, and you shall easily beare your tryall. Lett this publike mercy to the church of God make you to forgett your private sorrowe. The Lord be your strength ; soe prayes your truly faithfull and lovinge brother,
O. CROMWELL."

These are, certainly, remarkable letters, if they were written by an irreligious man ; and those which precede are remarkable epistles to be addressed to an irreligious man, who, from the nature and necessity of the case, could neither relish nor understand them.

In our judgment, too, Mr. Forster has joined in the charge of hypocrisy against Cromwell, without sufficiently substantiating it. Many of the circumstances which he adduces, as casting suspicion upon the Protector's piety, it seems to us are insufficient to warrant any such suspicion. Some things in his career doubtless are inexplicable. Some things are inconsistent with the character of a saint. Many of his public and private acts are not to be praised. But, who that has read his Bible, who that is familiar with the histories of Noah, Lot, Jacob, Aaron, David, Solomon, and Peter, will affirm that though a man has been guilty of a few overt acts of folly or of blackest sin, he may not after all be a regenerated

person and a sincere Christian? The developments of piety are seriously affected by the temperament of various persons, by the character of the age in which they live, and by the circumstances in which they are placed. An act may be a violation of religious sanctity, in the view of one man, which is not so regarded by another. Nothing is more common, especially among irreligious and worldly men, than a wrong standard of piety. They adopt an ideal which is either defective or excessive, and condemn whatever does not square with their conception. Hence, one finds fault with the staid and serious air of a professor of religion, as if the spirit of religion were always and only cheerful, and adverse to shades and gloom. Another, equally wide of the truth, condemns at once the profession of a man who occasionally indulges in the innocent pleasantries of life, as if religion must necessarily make one a demure zealot, or an unsocial anchorite. Besides, in those times of high political excitement, of furious partizanship and universal danger, the leaders of the public counsels and all the prominent characters, civil and military, were regarded with jealous eyes; their smallest acts were eagerly reported, in a favorable or an unfavorable light, according as the narrative took its rise from their friends or their enemies. This may account for the construction put upon some of Cromwell's acts, and for the false garb, it may be, in which they have been delivered down to history. We admit also that Cromwell's conscience lacked keenness of edge; or, certainly, that his political views and aims warped it aside, in some instances, from the simple dictates of righteousness and truth. Placed amid such influences, in such an age, under such temptations, it would have been strange, had it been otherwise. But at such a distance of time, and under the guidance of interested and contemporaneous historians, we question whether it is safe to fix upon a man, in some respects evidently leaning towards religion, the charge of utter hypocrisy.

We have not affirmed that there is no ground in Cromwell's life and conduct for the charge of hypocrisy; but we have endeavored to show that something can be said in favor of the sincerity of this great, but in some respects misguided man. After he had assumed the Protectorate, he was harassed and tossed by the abounding

difficulties of his position. He was often driven to extremities. He was surrounded by men of opposite parties; some were urging him forward, while others looked on him with bitter jealousy, as the murderer of their king and the usurper of the throne; some were watching an opportunity to put him to death, by sword or poison; and others, regarding him as a chosen instrument of God to bring about the latter-day glory, resolved to do their utmost to succor him in his projects, and to secure for him the vice-royalty under King Jesus. Under such circumstances, it must require an unusual share of piety, to preserve a man from being carried away by a vain-glorious ambition on the one hand, and from being swallowed up in the tide of influences adverse to religion on the other. So numerous and important trusts, weighing upon his shoulders, were calculated, either to make a man more deeply and earnestly religious—or, as is oftener the case, to quench for a season the appearance of religion in him, leaving the lingering spark of grace to lie unseen and smouldering under the ashes. Sucked in by the furious whirlpool of worldly anxieties and duties, the once flourishing professor is liable to lose both the spirit and the forms of religion, and even to fall, under the power of temptation, into those gross sins which humanity blushes to confess. To some extent, beyond a doubt, this was true of Cromwell. How far he fell from his Christian steadfastness is not in our power to decide. Nor can we properly appreciate, at this distance of time, the circumstances of his various inconsistent acts, so as to make it proper for us to pronounce, in a decided manner, as to the degree of his guilt or innocence. Many things must be delivered over to the judgment of that day, when all human actions shall be accurately weighed.

The following remarks by Samuel Richardson, a Baptist minister who resided in London in the time of the Protector, are here in point. They present the sentiments of a contemporary writer, who must have formed his judgment in view of facts of which he was an eye and ear-witness. If, as was probably the case, he was a man who had no political party to sustain, nor any selfish ends to be answered, his testimony is of more value than that of an avowed whig or royalist. We take them from a Montreal print of recent date.

“His Highness aimeth at the general good of the nation, and just liberty of every man. He is also a godly man, one that feareth God and escheweth evil; though he is, nor no man else, without human frailty. He is faithful to the saints, and to these nations in whatsoever he hath undertaken, from the beginning of the wars. He hath owned the poor despised people of God, and advanced many of them to a better way and means of living. He hath been an advocate for the Christians, and hath done them much good in writing, speaking, pleading for their liberty in the Long Parliament, and fighting for their liberty. He, with others, hath hazarded his life, estate, family; and since he hath refused great offers of wealth and worldly glory, for the sake and welfare of the people of God, God hath given him more than ordinary wisdom, strength, courage and valour. God hath been always with him, and given him great success. He is fitted to bear burdens, and to endure all opposition and contradictions that may stand with public safety. He is a terror to his enemies; he hath a large heart, spirit, and principle, that will hold all that fear the Lord, though of different opinions and practices in religion, and seek their welfare. It is the honor of princes to pity the miserable, to relieve the oppressed, and the wrongs of the poor; he is humble, and despiseth not any because poor, and is ready to hear and help them. He is a merciful man, full of pity and bounty to the poor. A liberal heart is more precious than heaven or earth. He gives in money to maimed soldiers, widows and orphans, and poor families, a thousand pound a week to supply their wants; he is not a lover of money, which is a singular and extraordinary thing. He will give, and not hoard up money as some do. I am persuaded there is not a better friend to these nations and people of God among men, and that there is not any man so unjustly censured and abused as he is. And some that now find fault with him may live to see and confess that what I have herein written is truth, and when he is gathered to his fathers, shall weep for want of him.”

We cannot contemplate without interest the closing periods of the Protector's life. His great power, which he had seen arise out of nothing, he lived to see on the wane. For a considerable time before his death, his “life was given him for a prey.” He lived in the most painful apprehension of being taken off by the hand of an assassin; and under no circumstances could he regard himself for a moment as safe. But, in the providence of God, he was permitted to die quietly a natural death. The scene at his death-bed is well known, in which he is reported to have asked Sterry, one of his chaplains, if it were possible to fall from grace. “It is not possible,” said Sterry. “Then I am safe,” exclaimed the dying man, “for I know that I was once in grace.” Just before this he asked one of his chaplains to read to him out of the Bible a certain text in Paul's epistle to the Philippians:—“Not

that I speak in respect of want; for I have learned, in whatever state I am, therewith to be content. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me. Notwithstanding ye have well done, that ye did communicate with my affliction." He expressed in this Scripture the greatest satisfaction. Ten days before his departure, and after he had failed to such a degree that the medical men despaired of his continuance, he assured them that he should not die, because God had given him an intimation to that effect in answer to the prayers that had been offered; "not," as he said, "to mine alone, but to those of others, who have a more intimate interest in him than I have." After he had been assured by Sterry of the certainty of the saints' perseverance, he uttered the following characteristic prayer—

"Lord, although I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with thee, through grace, and I may, I will come to thee for thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good and thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death; but, Lord, however thou dost dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them; give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much upon thy instruments to depend more upon thyself; pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm; for they are thy people too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be thy pleasure."

The closing portion of his life is minutely described by an eye witness. After the above prayer, he sunk into a stupor, from which, as the night came on, he revived a little, and began to murmur in half audible words:—

"'Truly God is good; indeed he is . . . he will not' . . . there his speech failed him, but as I apprehended, it was 'he will not leave me'; this saying that God was good he frequently used all along; and would speak it with much cheerfulness and fervor of spirit in the midst of his pain. Again he said, 'I would be willing to live to be further serviceable to God and his people, but my work is done, yet God will be with his people.' He was very restless most part of the night, speaking often to himself. And there being something to drink offered him, he was desired to take the same, and endeavor to sleep; unto which he answered, 'It is not my design to drink or to sleep, but my design is to make what haste I can to be gone.'"

A terrible storm raged through the night, and continued on the morning of September third. And at four o'clock in the afternoon, with the hushing of the elements, "his great spirit passed away." By a similar remarkable coincidence, Napoleon, the next great soldier whose conquests filled Europe with blood and sorrow, and whose triumphant progress made men stand aghast—died a hundred and sixty-two years later, during the roarings of a furious tempest, as if the stormy elements and the howling winds were roused to be their passing bell and their requiem. Cromwell died in the year 1658, aged 59 years. It was the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, and the day which he used to call his fortunate day, in allusion to the victories achieved on those occasions.

Sixty thousand pounds were allotted to meet the expense of the funeral, which was celebrated on the 23d of November following with great pomp. No splendor was wanting to adorn the occasion. But alas, how little dependence is to be placed upon human honors. After this magnificent funeral, on the restoration of Charles the Second, "he was taken out of his grave and hanged for a traitor."

ARTICLE II.

EXTENT AND DESIGN OF PARENTAL AUTHORITY.

BY REV. N. COLVER.

"For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him; and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment." Gen. 18, 19. That is, I know Abraham, that he will so exercise the authority of a parent as to secure the end for which it is given him.

There are two divine enactments which are peculiar to no particular dispensation,—statutes which have been permitted to remain unchanged, amid all the changes which have taken place since the beginning of the world;

statutes, too, which are alike indispensable to the preservation and happiness of our race. We allude to the law of the Sabbath, and to the law of marriage or of the family state. With the latter only have we to do in this discussion.

The law of marriage involves the parental relation. Indeed it was that the parental relation might be sustained under an arrangement advantageous to parents and their offspring, that marriage was instituted.

The parental relation involves dependence on the part of the child, and obligation to provide on the part of the parent; and hence, subjection on the part of the child, and authority on the part of the parent;—and if authority, power to enforce that authority.

That such authority was given to parents of God, and that it extended over the moral conduct of the child, is obvious from the fact that God has held parents under most fearful responsibility for its exercise. In the case of Eli, recorded in the second chapter of the first book of Samuel, God held him fully responsible for the vileness of his sons; and most obviously, because he had not used the authority and power with which he was invested for their restraint. Mark the ground of his censure:—it was not that he had not sought to dissuade his sons from their vileness, but because he did not restrain them. “For I have told him,” saith God, “that I will judge his house forever, for the iniquity which he knoweth; because his sons made themselves vile and he restrained them not.” He had sought to dissuade them. With deep feeling he had said to them, “Why do ye these things?” Nay he had warned them of the wrath of God of which they were in danger. Parental entreaty and remonstrance he had not withheld; but this was not enough. His responsibility demanded something more for their restraint; he should have exercised his parental authority and power. He should have restrained them.

But this he could not do, unless clothed with power sufficient to enforce his will against the stubbornness of his sons. The demand, therefore, on the part of God that he should exercise such authority and power, proves that he was clothed with such authority and power, and that its exercise would have been no usurpation, but rather the performance of a duty.

The passage quoted at the head of this article is no less definite or in point. "I know him that he will command his children," etc. To command, supposes the power to enforce the mandate. Without such power, command is mere entreaty, and leaves the end to be attained by such commandment uncertain. We are, therefore, to understand this as saying of Abraham, "I know that he will efficiently command—that he will so command as to secure the end," viz. his children shall "do justice and judgment." Abraham must, therefore, have been clothed with power and authority adequate to the subjection of his children to his will.

This power he had. He had it first in himself. To enforce his authority God permits, nay, in certain cases God requires, that the parent should have recourse to physical punishment. "He that spareth the rod hateth his son; but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes." Prov. 13: 24. This passage clearly indicates not only that it is lawful for the parent to use the rod upon his child, but that it is his duty so to do, and that he can only neglect it at the peril of his child.

But those who suppose that the gospel has obliterated the moral precepts of the Old Testament, and who eschew all force, may cry, "behold a greater than Solomon is here." And here he is, not indeed in him who would overthrow all government, whether civil or domestic, but he is here in the person of Christ, saying, "Moses said, honor thy father and thy mother; and whoso curseth father or mother let him die the death. But ye say, if a man say to his father or his mother, it is Corban, that is to say, a gift by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, he shall be free—making the word of God of none effect by your traditions."*

The power of the parent to restrain, control and guide his children, is not only thus enjoined in the word of God and explicitly sanctioned by the Lord Jesus Christ himself,—it has been recognized and sanctioned by mankind

*To the mere English reader, a different arrangement of the words in this passage might, perhaps, render it more intelligible: "Whatsoever there is of mine by which thou mightest be profited, it is Corban, or a gift—" that is, if any thing belonging to me could be of service to you, think not to receive it from me as an act of filial duty; for upon that I have written CORBAN; I have dedicated it to a higher use.

in all ages, both by tacit consent and by the legislation of most of the nations of the earth. It has been obvious to all men, savage and civilized, that the dependence of the child, the natural interest of the parent, above that of any other being, in the child's welfare,—that the comfort of the parent while performing his relative duties to the child,—that the training indispensable to render the child not an injurious, but useful member of society,—all, all demanded that competent power should be lodged with the parent, to secure the subjection and obedience of the child. In this case, the almost universal voice of nature and of revelation is harmonious.

But this authority, extending as it does over the conduct of the child, is, nevertheless, held under proper limitations. The parent is, in the first place, restricted from an injurious use of this power by the law of righteousness. True, in many cases, the parent is the sole judge of what is right, and the child has no present appeal from his decisions. Especially is this the case during the more tender years of the child. But in such cases he is accountable to God for the use or abuse of his power, as well as for its neglect at a subsequent age. For the perpetration of a wrong act, as well as for the neglect of a duty, God will call him to an account. "Ye fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged,"—is as authoritative from God, as to "train them up in the way they should go," or to restrain them from "vileness." The father is, indeed, a king in his own house, and let him beware how he wields any but a sceptre of righteousness.

Again, the parent is both limited and sustained in the exercise of his authority by the civil magistrate. For obstinacy or crime beyond the control of the parent,—for stubbornness, which refuses to yield to the affectionate suggestions or to the corrective powers of the father, he is bound to appeal to the civil magistrate for assistance. In such cases, the magistrate will limit the power, but sustain the authority of the parent, by substituting his own power for that of the parent. "If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, and that, when they have chastened him, will not hearken unto them, then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and

bring him out unto the elders of his city and unto the gate of his place; and they shall say unto the elders of his city, this our son is stubborn and rebellious; he will not obey our voice; he is a glutton and a drunkard. And all the men of his city shall stone him with stones that he die; so shalt thou put away evil from among you, and all Israel shall hear and fear."

In this ancient, but divine legislation, three things are very clearly taught us.

First, that the parents have the right to appeal to the civil magistrate, when they have first chastened their son,—when the power vested in them has without effect been first used.*

Secondly, that the matter of disobedience being that of gluttony and drunkenness, shows conclusively that the authority of the parent extends to matters of moral conduct and character in the child.

Thirdly, that the power of the state is pledged to sustain the authority of the parent, or punish the rebel.

Again, so indispensable and so responsible is this parental authority, that God has marked it with his own particular attention, guarding its sanctity by his own solemn enactments and fearful intimations.

Thus, in the changeless law of the decalogue his voice is heard, saying, "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee;"—thus clearly intimating that wasting and shortness of days under the divine anger will overtake that people where the parental relation is not honored, and where its authority is disregarded. What could more magnify the relation? What higher sanction could be given to its authority? Or, what could more clearly exhibit the fearful responsibility of that relation?

This is a national injunction—a statute for the people—and as such it should be regarded as a command to magnify the relation itself and its prerogatives. Let parental government be honored in the land, is the very essence of the command. We should do no violence to the passage

* There is a practical illustration of the application of this principle in the case of the Boston Farm School. Into this school are admitted three classes of boys; first, orphan boys; secondly, boys whose parents, being vicious and abandoned, take no care of them; and thirdly, such sons, especially of widowed mothers, as have proved themselves unmanageable at home. The latter of the three furnishes a case in point, in this part of the discussion.

were we to paraphrase it thus:—"Let the commonwealth honor the functions and authority of the parental relation, that thou mayest escape the wasting anger of the Lord in the land which he giveth thee." And let no nation hope to escape those threatened calamities, where parental authority is neither exercised nor honored.

We will make one quotation more, to show with what exceeding interest God has regarded this authority.

The old civil maxim, "The king can do no wrong," whether true or not in relation to kings, is true in relation to parents. The meaning attached to the maxim is, whatever the king does, the people may not punish him. Whatever wrong the child may receive at the hand of the parent, he may not resent it; he may not personally attempt to punish the parent; while, on the other hand, the parent may smite the child for his wrongs. "Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell." Prov. 23: 14.

But on no account must the child lift up his hand against his father or his mother—"He that smiteth his father or his mother shall surely be put to death." And again, "He that curseth his father or his mother shall surely be put to death." To this law there is no exception. If the parent abuse the child, other powers may judge him; but the child may not smite him. God from on high has crowned the parent with an authority which filial resentment can only violate at the peril of Jehovah's wrath.

While the world stands, the parental relation and authority will be the centre-post of social order. Properly exercised and honored, they shall ever remain the pledge of society's well-being,—if dishonored and disregarded, of disorder and ruin. With an eye to its importance, God has thus magnified it by his own careful provisions.

Let us, in the second place, inquire after the end or design of this authority.

We may be assured, that no partial benefit was designed by it. He who perverts the benignant trust of a father's power into a tyrant's rod, is a tyrant indeed. He violates both the law of nature and the law of God.* This vast

* The limits of this essay prevent us from saying what we would wish to say on the manner of exercising this parental authority. We are far from desiring

and responsible power is given for the good of all concerned. It is an early and unchanging arrangement of our Creator,—indispensable to the well-being of society; and, if it is rightly exercised and properly honored, a prolific source of domestic peace and happiness.

Let us examine with a little care the design of this authority with reference to the parties concerned.

First. It is intended to secure the peace and comfort of the parent. Domestic peace or joy is a paramount earthly blessing, with reference to which the inspired penman says,—“For that is thy portion in this life, and in thy labor, which thou takest under the sun.” To enjoy that, the relation of the parent, with its cares, responsibilities and burdens, has been assumed. If he fail to secure that, he bears those burdens in vain. So far as he is concerned, his toils are unsweetened—unpaid.

But that end can never be secured, if parental authority be not well exercised and honored. Filial respect and obedience are indispensable to domestic peace; and a proper exercise of parental authority is indispensable to filial respect and obedience.

In the security of this domestic peace, others beside the father are concerned; and he is put in trust with this authority, that he may secure domestic peace for the rest of the family, as well as for himself. He is bound to secure the peace of the domestic kingdom over which he presides. “A wise son maketh a glad father; but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.” “The rod and reproof give wisdom; but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame.” Sadness to the father, heaviness and shame to the mother, and folly to the child, are inseparable from the neglect of family government; while a glad father, an honored mother and a wise child are the promised results of its faithful exercise. With its judicious exercise, the gift of the family state is one of the richest blessings of God to man; without it, that blessing

to promote severity of parental discipline, or a lavish use of the rod. We verily believe that a proper early training would in most cases render an appeal to the rod unnecessary. If parents would see that their children were not left a prey to temptations through idleness—if they would set them a good example—if they would exhibit in all their intercourse with them kindness of manner, sincerity of speech and stability of purpose, avoiding all improper indulgences, in a vast majority of cases the end of parental authority would be attained without an appeal to force of any kind.

is changed to a bitter curse. The fruits of its neglect are to be seen in those contentious families, where alienation of affection and want of subordination render a residence in their midst a living death. A neglect of it will, sooner or later, visit upon the parent that bitter anguish, with which Eli went down to his grave;—a double anguish;—anguish that his domestic peace and prospects are forever blasted; and anguish that the frowns of God are upon him, for having failed to fulfil one of the most tender and solemn responsibilities of life.

Again, the good of the community demands the faithful exercise of family government. To secure that, was parental authority given. “For I know him (Abraham), that he will command his children and his household after him; and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment:”—that is, as the fruit of his faithful exercise of his authority, his children after him shall be just and upright;—they shall be a blessing to the world, “after” he is dead. For this governmental fidelity, God honored Abraham. This was his great personal qualification for that high station which God called him to fill,—“He will command his children, and they shall do justice and judgment.”

Not so with Eli. “His sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not.” And for that neglect, who can tell the amount of injury done to the community where he dwelt? Eli was not a lone sufferer, from the vileness of his sons. Who can properly estimate the jealousy, the discord, the bitter anguish and ruin, through all those families in Israel, whose mothers, wives and daughters returned, polluted and spoiled, by their libidinous behaviour, from the temple? It must remain forever untold, until the revealings of the judgment shall make it known. O who can count the number, or measure the despair of souls destroyed by their profanation of the holy things pertaining to the house and worship of God?

Who can tell the desolations, the remorse, the shame, the anguish of the personal victims of their villanies, or their still more keen and enduring anguish in the world of woe? What a spectacle for that hoary and broken hearted delinquent to survey! Wide spread ruin of domestic peace! On every hand are strewn the wrecks of

immortal souls, which his sons have made. The holy place, where God "has recorded his name to dwell there," polluted,—his worship profaned, and his holy name blasphemed! Sad survey! Bitter fruits of parental indulgence!—of neglecting to exercise that authority, with which God had put him in trust.

Where, now, shall the poor man turn for comfort? Alas! the frowns of God meet him at that altar, where he has been wont to worship. "For I have told him, saith the Lord, that I will judge his house forever, for the iniquity which he knoweth, because his sons made themselves vile and he restrained them not. And therefore have I sworn unto the house of Eli, that the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be purged with sacrifice nor offering forever."

It is but just, that God should hold that parent responsible, for the mischief of his sons in the community, "who have made themselves vile, and he restrained them not." This is, indeed, the subdued admission of Eli, when he said, "It is the Lord; let him do what seemeth to him good;"—that is, "It is a just hand, though a heavy one; I will not complain." He whose profligate sons grow up unrestrained by parental authority, to prey upon the virtue and peace of society, is a curse to his generation and to his race. Whether his delinquency proceed from false reasoning, false tenderness, or a heartless indifference, the affliction is alike severe upon the community. Nor can he, while he enjoys the teaching of God's word, be guiltless in the matter. The community had a right to expect of him, if he assumed the domestic privileges and relations, that he should have so restrained his sons that the community should be secure from their depredations. If otherwise, he must one day reckon with that injured community, either here, or at the bar of God.

Instances may, and, no doubt, do occur, in which sons will make themselves vile in spite of parental care and authority; and render themselves sources of exceeding mischief to others. But if, during the time of their minority,—the reign of their father,—their vileness be not restrained, the guilt is upon the father as well as upon them. The exhaustion of the power of example, of persuasion, and of coercion which he possesses, can alone

exempt him from that guilt.* If, in spite of all this, their vileness prevail, he may be clear. But short of this, there is for him no excuse.

But again, and more especially, was the parent clothed with this authority for the good of posterity,—for the benefit of his children.

It is to be feared, that the delicacy, the extent, and the magnitude of the responsibilities of the parental relation are properly appreciated by very few. The relative position of parent and child differ widely. But still there is a close and unavoidable connection in their destiny. They must mutually act, and react upon each other through time; and with results which may follow through eternity;—results which may be told in songs of everlasting joy, or in groans which never end.

Obedient to the promptings of his nature, and with an eye to his own present and future comfort and honor, the parent has voluntarily assumed his charge with all its responsibilities. On his part it is voluntary; but on the part of the child, it is not so. With the parent, the responsibilities are self-imposed and original. With the child, the responsibilities are to grow up in the relation into which he has been brought by the will of others; and under the influence of circumstances which to him are unforeseen, and over which he has but little or no control; but which, to a great extent, were originated by and are subject to the control of the parent. By these circumstances and influences, the character of the child is mainly to be formed. When he comes into this relation, he has no character. But he has a malleable nature, subject to impressions afterward to be made upon it; and what those impressions shall be, depends much upon the will of the parent.

It is true that there is, from the birth, a natural ten-

*The question is worthy of consideration, whether the bad eminence formerly attained by the sons of clergymen, is not fairly attributable, in many instances, to parental neglect. In pursuing the high duties of their calling, especially when the sparseness of the population, the fewness of ministers and the nature of their service often demanded of them protracted absences from home, their sons were subjected, in their absence, to a weaker guidance and more inefficient restraint; and, during their temporary sojourns among their children, either those guilty outbreaks of sin did not show themselves and call for correction, or the yearnings of a father's heart prevented the exercise of a salutary discipline, through fear that his returns from his pilgrimages would be dreaded by his children, as occasions of extraordinary severity and certain punishment.

dency to evil—a natural selfishness, which will be disposed to avail itself of every means which may offer for self-gratification, to an extent not consistent with the rights of others, or with the law of God. But this tendency will be comparatively weak and easily controlled, at least so far as the outward conduct is concerned, unless strengthened by indulgence. To prevent such indulgence,—to counteract this tendency, and to “restrain,” and guide, and mould, is the parent’s prerogative. To do this, the parent is furnished with the natural conscience and filial love of the child. He is clothed with ample authority to control both him and those influences with which he shall come in contact. He is furnished with a vast range of motive, with which to dissuade from the wrong, and win to the right. And then, that every excuse may be removed, God has separated the child from the control of all others, to his own unfettered management. By his law written upon the very natures of all men, whether rude or refined, savage or civilized, he has commanded them to respect the parent in the full and free exercise of his sacred trust. God requires that they shall not be disturbed in the performance of their duty. He does more; he ordains, if need be, that the whole state shall come to the parent’s aid. If the accursed stubbornness of the child defies the power of the parent, he may, nay, he is bound, to appeal to the civil arm; and it shall give him its aid in restraining his child from vileness. Under these circumstances, when the good of the child is taken into the account, how tender, how solemn, how vast the trust; how fearfully complete the responsibility of the parent!

If, under all these circumstances, his sons make themselves vile and he restrain them not, the Lord will be justly angry with him. He will have been clothed with parental authority and power in vain. The end for which it was given will not have been accomplished. His sons will perish in their own vileness; but from their guilt he will not be free; to their ruin he is accessory, and the blow which strikes them down will pierce his own soul. “If one man sin against another, the judge shall judge him; but if a man sin against the Lord, who shall entreat for him? Notwithstanding, they hearkened not unto the voice of their father, because the Lord would slay them.”

Poor man! His remonstrance came too late. Their hardened excess had long since demanded restraining power. And will he now think to save them by feeble remonstrance? Their unrestrained vileness has sealed their doom. "Because the Lord would slay them." And to that fearful doom, his own past neglect has ministered. How does that past neglect becloud the setting sun of his life! How does it embitter that fearful cup which the Lord has put into his trembling hand, and in the agony of putting which to his lips,—he dies!

But the case of Eli was not solitary. Thousands upon thousands, like him, in consequence of their own injudicious sympathy, superficial kindness, and fatal neglect of restraining power, have been compelled to witness the untimely end, or fearful doom of their sons.

We would that every parent in the land would read and ponder that affecting account, until it should lastingly impress itself upon his mind,—until he should feel the fearful responsibilities which he has assumed in the parental relation,—and until he should awake to a proper exercise of that kingly power with which God has invested him, and in the proper exercise of which, so many and such endless destinies are concerned.

We have thus briefly examined the extent and design of parental authority, as arranged and approved of God.

We have found it of sufficient extent to secure the end for which it was given. It covers the moral conduct of the child, and is sustained by power sufficient to enforce obedience.

We have found that the design of this authority is to secure the domestic peace of the parent and his household; the safety and well-being of society; and especially, for the benefit of his posterity,—for the good of the child itself. The design is of vast importance; and the power to accomplish that design is ample and well adapted.

Two remarks will close this essay. The first is,—If the view which we have taken of this subject be correct, then the recent, vast and alarming multiplication of vile and profligate young men is accounted for. That such a class is exhibiting a fearful increase among us, there can be no doubt. Precisely such young men as were the sons of Eli are swarming the land, like the locusts of Egypt. And like the Egyptian frogs, they are coming up

into our houses, our windows and our kneading troughs. Our penitentiaries are full to overflowing. All our cities, our thoroughfares, our steamboats and our railroads are thronged with genteel, enlightened and accomplished pickpockets, debauchees, house-burners and robbers. Many of them are from, and connected with some of the best families in the land. And many of them have reached that dreadful acmé of guilt through the learned professions.

Suddenly as this fearful state of things has burst upon us, and surpassingly alarming as are the aspects which it presents, in our opinion it is quite fully to be accounted for in the almost universal prostration of family government, and the almost entire absence of parental restraint.

Indulgence is the order of the day. In the vain hope of satisfying the desires, and of winning upon the affections of childhood and youth, so as to lead them, as the saying is, by the heart-strings, a great variety of youthful indulgences are resorted to. But the experiment has proved a failure.

After all, God understands human nature best. And a mild but vigorous exercise of that family government and that parental restraint which he has ordained, is safer, far safer than the suggestions of a sickly sympathy and parental partiality. The atmosphere of the former may be colder, and productive of a slower development of the youthful plants which are subjected to its influence. But the development will be a more propitious one,—a development of modesty, conscience and sound discretion. While under the hot-bed influence of the latter, these more sterling graces will be choked and overrun by the weeds of selfishness, appetite and passion. O how seldom do we now see a young man possessed of that diffidence and modesty which is becoming his years!

Let no parent flatter himself, that because the matters in which he promotes the indulgence of his children are not in themselves sinful, they are therefore harmless. Their mischief lies in their effect upon the youthful mind. They weaken the power of self-restraint, by cherishing habits of self-indulgence, and the strengthening of desire. There is many a young man as much to be pitied as to be blamed in his fall. His appetites, passions, and habits of self-indulgence have been so matured under the mista-

ken policy to which we have alluded, as to possess over-mastering power. And on the presentation of some alluring, but fatal temptation, they have seized the reins of conscience and judgment, and have precipitated his doom. Of this accumulation of over-mastering power, the victim himself may be utterly unconscious, "till," venturing in the way of temptation, "a dart strike through his liver, as a bird hasteth to the snare, and knoweth not that it is for his life." And the parent himself may be first aroused to the fatal effects of his imbecile policy, by the death-shriek of his child, coming back from that "house," which "is the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death."

In the restraining power of parental authority which we have considered, God has made provision for the evil tendencies and for the unfailing necessities of youthful nature in every age. And the almost universal result proves at what a fearful hazard that provision is dispensed with. The indulged and petted appetites and passions of youth are the vipers and tigers of riper years; as much the foes of their possessors, as of that community to whose interests they make him reckless.

For the cure of the present wide-spread, and more widely spreading profligacy, there is no hope but in rearing up anew the pillars of family government which have been thrown down, and in a revival of the exercise of parental restraint. If we would return to Puritan morals, we must first return to the Puritan fashion of family government. God has ordained, that the mild, but vigorous exercise of family government and parental restraint shall ever be the conservative point in the arrangement of society. No wonder, then, its destruction has been so strangely disastrous to the order and to the morals of the community. The arrangements of God are never to be set aside with impunity. And herein lies our hope, they are never returned to in vain, nor honored without the happiest fruits.

The other remark is this, If the view which we have taken be correct, then it behoves both the pulpit and the press to sound the alarm. Parental blindness and ignorance will be found associated with the neglect of which we have spoken; and it is not in the nature of darkness or ignorance to cure themselves. Light never comes of

darkness. Nay, it is always hailed as an aggressor, whenever it invades the dominions of darkness. But for that purpose is light sent forth from the throne of God. It is commissioned to invade and conquer. And the chief instruments of its warfare are the pulpit and the press. Neither do we overrate the importance of this subject, when we say, it justly demands the best energies of both. On this matter, there is a work for them to do of overwhelming magnitude. Its claim should be made to rest, not upon the law of expediency or human wisdom, but upon the word of God,—the revealed will of Jehovah. It is time for those watchmen who are set for the defence of the truth, to gird themselves in truth's panoply on this subject. The mists of ignorance must be dissipated; that moral quackery, which of late has, with most unblushing arrogance, been seeking to tamper with the enactments of God,—calling in question his wisdom,—must be rebuked. And parental vigilance must be fully roused. Those conservative restraints of youthful tendencies which God has enjoined upon parents must be revived, or we are lost.

Let the pulpit and the press do their duty, and there is hope. Let them be silent, despair.

ARTICLE III.

LIFE OF ANSELM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

ANSELM VON CANTERBURY. Dargestellt von G. F. Franck. Tübingen, 1842. (*Life of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*).

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

BY THE EDITOR.

§ 1. From his birth till he entered the monastery of Bec, A. D. 1033-1060.

ANSELM was born at Aosta in Piedmont, in the year 1033. His father's name was Gundulf, and his mother's Ermerberga; both were of noble birth. The former originated in Lombardy and afterwards became a citizen of Aosta; but the latter was born there. They were persons of respectable property, but very unlike in character. Gundulf was devoted to the world, and generous even to extravagance. Ermerberga was a prudent housewife, virtuous, and of blameless manners. Gundulf, in his latter years, became a monk.

Anselm felt the strongest attachment to his mother,* and listened to her conversations with attention and pleasure. It is a prevailing feature of that period that while the men were inordinately devoted to the things of the world, the depths of the female heart glowed the more strongly, in proportion, with the love of the things of eternity. Hence, as in the case of Peter the Venerable and Bernhard of Clairvaux, it was the mothers, chiefly, who sowed the seeds of piety in the minds of children; and the latter, when grown up, were irresistibly drawn to

* Anselm was without brothers. He had one sister, called Richeza or Richera, who married a person named Burgundius. By this marriage she had a son Anselm, who was educated by his uncle in Canterbury; he was first abbot of Bury, and after the death of Anselm, he was appointed by the Pope, Paschalis II, legate of England. The sister of Anselm, at a later period, entered a convent.

those quiet homes, as the abodes in which originated all their desires after holiness.

So it was with Anselm. Though from the beginning he made rapid advancement in the study of science, he was not inwardly satisfied. When he was not yet fifteen years old, he anxiously revolved the question, how he could live so as to please God; and hence it is not surprising that, according to the notions of the age, a monastic life seemed to him the most excellent.

The science of that period was adapted to leave in penetrating minds only a sense of emptiness and of unsatisfied desire. Therefore it was that the greatest proficient in it, wearied with worldly study, sought refuge from it, at the close of life, in the solitary and contemplative repose of the monastery. Worldly and spiritual things then stood in the strongest contrast; and universal opinion accorded to a convent life alone the name of true philosophy. Thus, in the year 1100, Hildebert of Tours writes to William of Champeaux, after the latter had retired from his office in the cathedral of Paris, and entered as a regular canon in the chapel of St. Victor,—“My soul exults and gives thanks to God, that now at last thou hast determined to enter upon the true philosophy; for thou hadst not so much as the smell of a philosopher, when, with all thy acquisitions of the science of philosophers, thou didst not even lay aside thy graceful manners.” In like manner, Peter the Venerable ascribes it to the inspiration of the divine Spirit, that Abelard, after the Synod of Sens, weary of the persecutions of Bernhard, resolved to renounce the unquiet life of schools and studies, and to remain forever in Clugny.

In order to realize his conceptions as quickly as possible, Anselm, in his youthful ardor, prayed an abbot with whom he was acquainted, to make him a monk. The abbot declined to do it without the consent of his father. Upon this, Anselm entreated God that he might fall sick, and his prayer was answered. During this sickness he again sent to the abbot privately, begging him, as he was in the immediate prospect of death, to grant his request; but the abbot again refused. With the restoration of health, the world spread out its charms afresh before Anselm's buoyant spirits. From this time, he devoted himself even more to youthful pleasures than to the study

of science. Indeed, as long as his mother lived, he was in a measure given up to them. But after her death, he plunged into a whirlpool of gaiety. His father, who perhaps had studied the character of Anselm with greater penetration, and had become conscious of the total difference of their natures, seemed completely alienated from him. The more humble Anselm showed himself, the more severe was the father. This became at length intolerable to him; and, in order to avoid worse consequences, he resolved to forsake his home and country, and fled, in company with a priest, beyond Mount Cenis. After spending three years partly in Burgundy and partly in France proper, he came to Normandy, in order to put himself under the instruction of Lanfranc, whose fame had drawn together the most distinguished divines from all countries. Anselm soon became his confidant, and zealously devoted himself to the sciences. Excessive application, day and night, joined with the ascetic life peculiar to a monastery, enfeebled his body, and his old resolution returned, to become a monk; that he might not lose, as his biographer remarks, the merit of his endeavors. He seriously deliberated about the place where he should put his resolve in execution. But he determined not to take the vow in Clugny nor in Bec; not in the former, because he thought he should never be able to distinguish himself on account of the strictness of the order; not in the latter, because he had reason to anticipate that the preponderating fame of Lanfranc would always overshadow him. He desired a place where he could employ his knowledge in making himself useful to many. But he soon found that it was not consonant with the idea of a monastic life to cherish such an ambition as this. Hence he selected Bec, because there the fame of Lanfranc would serve as a check upon his ambition, and stimulate him to seek his happiness only in God. But not to act hastily in so important a concern, he consulted Lanfranc; he represented himself as in doubt which of three courses to adopt,—to become a monk, or a hermit, or to devote his property to the support of the poor; for his father was now dead, and had left him sole heir. Lanfranc delayed his decision, and advised him to consult Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen; he even went with him to that prelate for this purpose. Here the question was soon

settled in favor of the condition of a monk, and Anselm took the vow in Bec, A. D. 1060, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

§ 2. Anselm's Life and Works in Bec, (1060-1093.)

Herluin was then the abbot of the monastery, and Lanfranc, prior. Anselm here devoted himself zealously, for three years, solely to religious exercises. But when, in 1063, Lanfranc was called to the abbacy of a new monastery in Caen, founded by William the Conqueror, Anselm became prior. He immediately plunged into theological speculation, which attained through him a new era. Scripture and tradition, in his view, were a foundation which could not be shaken. He felt, however, the necessity of reconciling scientifically the objective to the subjective.* He also performed an excellent service in correcting, by night, manuscripts which in a barbarous period had become greatly corrupted. But with these scientific labors he practised so rigid an asceticism, that according to his own confessions he scarcely allowed himself to gratify the simplest wants of his body. This exclusive occupation with himself and with divine things was in harmony with his taste; but the duties of his office were equally contrary to it. His early elevation to the rank of prior produced in those who thought themselves neglected, jealousy and hatred; besides, the duties of his office interrupted that quiet which he needed for his scientific and religious employments. Hence he prayed the archbishop Maurilius to excuse him from the duties of his office. This, however, was refused. Maurilius replied, that so far from depriving others of his services for the sake of sparing himself, he should even be in readiness to assume a higher dignity which was soon to await him. From the advanced age of Herluin, he could doubtless easily suspect what that dignity might be.

In the mean time, the abilities of Anselm were variously tasked. On account of the great age and feebleness of

* Diligently devoting himself to God and heavenly things, he attained at length such skill, that he could solve the most obscure and unusual questions concerning God and human faith. He had such confidence in the holy Scriptures that he believed that there was nothing in them which deviates in any measure from substantial truth. *Vita Ans. Lib. I, p. 3.*

Herluin, the cares of the monastery fell almost solely upon him. He made provision for the wants of the poor, and especially of the sick. Still he found time for scientific labors. To this period belong his treatises, *De veritate* (Of truth), *De libero arbitrio* (Of free will), *De casu diaboli* (Of the fall of Satan), *De grammatico* (Of Grammar), and the *Monologium* (Monologue). To present, in a brief and comprehensive manner, the argument for the existence of God, was a problem which cost him much labor. It not only made him forget to eat, drink and sleep, but even disturbed his devotional exercises. Hence he was tempted to regard the idea of such an exhibition of the argument as a temptation of the devil, and he endeavored to give it entirely up. But in vain. All at once, during a vigil, he discovered the solution of his problem, and was convinced that he was indebted to divine inspiration. On this account he ascribed to it the greater weight; and having written it on a tablet, he delivered it to one of the brethren of the monastery for safe keeping. But when, some days after, he wished it again, it was not in its place, nor had any of the brethren taken it. Anselm wrote it again, and recommended that the manuscript should be more carefully preserved. Hence a brother concealed it in a secret part of his bed; but the next morning he found the wax tablet shivered in pieces, and at his bedside on the floor. The pieces were put together again and the writing restored; but Anselm, fearing lest the whole matter should fall to the ground, caused it to be written in the name of God upon parchment. Thus Satan himself, to whom in the opinion of the biographer the plots against the book are to be ascribed, indirectly gave it the great value which it possesses. Anselm also, for various reasons, must have estimated it very highly; it had occupied him a great while, and he was convinced that it was communicated to him by divine inspiration. He intimates how high a value he set upon it, by causing it to be written "in the name of God" upon parchment. This writing is the well known *Prosologion*. The monk Gaunilo of Marmoutier started various objections to it in his *Liber pro insipiente* (Book for the unwise), to which Anselm replied in defence.

By a wise and kind treatment of his inferiors, he won the hearts of all, and overcame the jealousy, hatred and

envy of many of his brethren. His fame extended to the neighboring countries and even to England, and from all nations came noblemen, priests and warriors to consult him in reference to their spiritual affairs. Besides he was invited by various abbeys, that he might dispense partly to the chapter of the brethren and partly to private persons the words of life. For it became a universal conviction, as his biographer affirms, that every thing which dropped from the mouth of Anselm was to be regarded as of divine authority.

After the death of Herluin, A. D. 1078, Anselm was unanimously elected abbot, notwithstanding he opposed it with excuses and entreaties, and even with tears and earnest protestations, because the duties of the office would in many ways interrupt his retirement. He was consecrated on St. Peter's day, by Gislebert, bishop of Evreux. The affairs of the monastery he committed to brethren in whose zeal and prudence he could confide; himself he devoted to contemplation, and to the instruction of the monks. The principal features of his government were justice to every one, a mild administration of the laws, and hospitality to strangers. His generous liberality many times threatened the monastery with embarrassment; yet throughout his whole administration, nothing that was necessary was ever wanting. This monastery had many possessions in England, which it was incumbent on the abbot often to visit; Anselm made a journey thither in the year of his ordination, especially that he might see Lanfranc again, who, since A. D. 1070, had been archbishop of Canterbury. The kindness of Anselm won all hearts; he was received every where in England in the most flattering manner. Even William the Conqueror, that austere and inflexible man, was very gracious to him. When that monarch lay sick in Rouen, A. D. 1087, he even sent for Anselm from Bec, that he might come and pray for him; but when he thought he should recover, he delayed to converse with him concerning the salvation of his soul. Soon, however, he became so weak that it was impossible. In this condition he lay at Ermentrud in Rouen, on the other side of the Seine. In the meantime Anselm also became ill, and they saw each other no more; for William died, and was

buried in Caen.* He was succeeded by William Rufus, his second son; Robert, the first born, offended with his father because he had not given him the government of Normandy, had rebelled and gone over to the side of Philip of France. That he might render his power the more secure by gaining Lanfranc to his interests, William promised him that if he should become king, justice and equity should prevail throughout the kingdom, and especially that he should seek the liberty and safety of the churches, and consult with him in every thing. But after he had obtained his wish, he forgot his promise. After the death of Lanfranc, A. D. 1089, he suppressed all the monasteries and churches of England; he caused the monks to be taxed, and claimed for himself the surplus of the revenue; and the dignities of the church he sold to the highest bidder. Besides this, William I had already permitted many liberties to be taken with the monasteries; many times he took possession of their superfluous income; and in order to give the appearance of justice to his demands, for all future time, all the bishoprics and abbeys belonging to baronies, and which had hitherto been exempt from secular requisitions, he made liable to taxation for a part of the expenses of war, and ordained what number of soldiers they should furnish in time of war; and those who resisted this arrangement he expelled from the country. However just this rule may appear to us, making the burden equal for all, it produced in the bishops and abbots great discontent, so that Stigandus, archbishop of Canterbury, and Alexander of Lincoln fled to Scotland to king Malcolm. Hence in the same year (A. D. 1070), William I had deposed Stigandus, as an apostate, from his office, and Lanfranc came into his place.†

The violent proceedings of William II against the churches and monasteries continued for five years. In the fourth, Hugo, earl of Chester, who wished to estab-

* At his death, the king was deserted by his friends, and it was only after an angry contest that permission was obtained, through the intervention of Anselm, to bury him in the grave that had been dug for this purpose. [See *Lives of the Queens of England*, by Miss Strickland, Vol. I, p. 86. Phil. 1843.]

† "All men, of almost every kingdom, were daily saying of him both secretly and publicly things utterly unbecoming the royal dignity." *Ans. Vita*, Lib. II, page 13.

lish an abbacy in one of his churches, invited Anselm to accept the place, and to manage it according to rule. In this request united also many other distinguished men of England, who had chosen him for their spiritual helper. At first Anselm refused to come, because it might be conjectured that he was aspiring to the archbishopric; but the report had already gone abroad privately, that if he came into England, he would be archbishop of Canterbury. Meantime, Hugo became dangerously sick, and earnestly besought Anselm, in remembrance of their past friendship, to come to him without delay for the salvation of his soul. This appeal persuaded Anselm; besides, he had business for his own church in England. When he arrived at the court, William received him with great respect, went even to the door of the house to meet him, and conducted him to a seat. In a conversation in the presence of four witnesses, Anselm now informed the king of every thing unfavorable which he had heard respecting him; this course, however, gained him little favor with the monarch; and strongly doubting the humility of Anselm, he declared positively that he would keep the archbishopric in his own hand. Indeed, Anselm was five months in England on business, without a word being said of Canterbury. But when he was about to return to Normandy, the king refused to grant him permission. In the meanwhile William, being sick unto death, was exhorted on all sides to give an archbishop to the desolate church of Canterbury. He gave his consent, and declared Anselm the most worthy. But Anselm strongly opposed it. He held it, on many accounts, to be out of the question. His age, his incompetency to sustain such a dignity, his disinclination to worldly affairs, and the opinions of the bishops that he was to be the support of the English church, all were, in his mind, objections. Even the earnest request of the dying king, who declared that he could find no rest if Anselm did not yield, availed nothing. At last he was brought by force to the king's bed. When the king would put the episcopal staff into his hand, Anselm kept it closed. But the bishops urged it upon him. In the midst of the shouts of the multitude,—“Long live the Archbishop!”—the bishops with the rest of the clergy raised a loud *Te Deum*; and he was more dragged than conducted to the neighboring

church. It is not strange that there were those who imputed Anselm's refusal less to humility than to a secret ambition, of which he complains bitterly in his epistles. Whatever the bishops had hitherto undertaken in connection with him, in the king's presence, he explained as amounting to nothing; perhaps he might have foreseen that there would be many contests with the king; and once more he assured the bishops that, such was the difference between his character and the king's, his election would result only in the disadvantage and oppression of the church.* This occurred the sixth of March, A. D. 1093. While Anselm was residing, by the king's command, on the estates belonging to the archi-episcopal see, William sent messengers to Robert, duke of Normandy, to William, archbishop of Rouen, and to the monks in Bec, in order to gain their concurrence in the election of Anselm. They signified their approval, but Anselm still had certain conditions to propose to the king: all the estates which had belonged to the church of Canterbury under Lanfranc were to be restored to it, and Pope Urban II, to whom Anselm had expressed his allegiance in Bec, was to be acknowledged. William had already distributed those estates among his people, in reward for services performed; but Anselm would not give them up, and on this account the negotiation was well nigh broken off. But at last with many promises the king persuaded Anselm to accept the office, and to receive investiture.† So on the twenty-fifth of September, Anselm entered upon his office in Canterbury, where he was welcomed by an innumerable multitude of the clergy and the people; but in the rude and insolent treatment which he received from the king's ambassador, Ranulph, bishop of Dunelm, he had on the very first day, an example of what he was to experience afterwards. He was ordained on the fourth of

* "Do you understand," said he, "what you are doing? You yoke together in one plough a wild bull, a calf and a feeble sheep. And what will be the result? The sheep, which produces wool, and milk, and lambs, will either free herself from the yoke, or, dragged hither and thither among the thorns by the ferocious bull, will be so torn that she will no longer be of use to herself, nor yield any profit to others." *Hist. Novor.*, Lib. I, p. 36.

† He was, therefore, inducted into office after the manner of his predecessor, and, like Lanfranc, ordered to be seized and possessed of the office of archbishop, with all the rights, privileges and revenues thereto appertaining. *Hist. Novor.*, Lib. I, p. 37.

December, by Thomas, archbishop of York, in the presence of all the other English bishops. The title employed in the announcement of his election,—“the church of Canterbury, the metropolitan church of all Britain,”—having been claimed by the archbishop of York, because his church was also a metropolis, was exchanged for the more exact one, “Primate of all Britain;” in this, as in other things, the mutual relations of the two metropolitan bishops were ever the source of new contentions.

§ 3. ANSELM AS AN ARCHBISHOP (A. D. 1093–1109).

I. His intercourse with William II (A. D. 1093–1100).

Anselm's prediction, that he should not be able to live in harmony with the king, was fulfilled the very first year. William needed much money for a campaign against his brother Robert, whom he wished to strip of Normandy; Anselm offered him five hundred pounds in silver, that he might secure the king's favor in behalf of the church; and the king would have been satisfied with it, had not certain ill-disposed persons advised him not to accept it, saying that he had conferred upon Anselm station, riches and honors, and now, when in view of the present emergency he ought to give 2000 or at least 1000 pounds, he offered only 500, and suggesting that if the king should appear cool towards Anselm, he would doubtless add five hundred pounds more. When Anselm learned that the king despised the sum offered, he was amazed, and asked him whether he had really refused it. The king answered that he had. Anselm now urged the king not to reject the money, for it would not be the last donation; besides it it would be more honorable to him and more useful to be often receiving a little, than to seize by force a great deal at once; and in a tone of decision he added, “if you love liberty, you shall have both myself and all that I possess for your use; but if slavery, you shall have neither me nor mine.” The king being angry, replied to Anselm that he might keep what belonged to him, that he himself had resources enough of his own. Upon this Anselm distributed the money among the poor.

In the beginning of the following year, A. D. 1094, almost all the bishops and distinguished men assembled at

Hastings, as the king proposed to sail into Normandy. Here a difference arose between the king and Anselm. There were two things which the latter proposed to the king: the first was to summon a general council, in order to correct the crimes and abuses that had become prevalent during the long period that had elapsed since the last, and especially to suppress the prevailing sin of sodomy. But the king would hear nothing of it. At least, he would have it left wholly with himself. The other was, a request that the king would provide abbots for the numerous desolate abbeys; for the monks had wholly given themselves up to a worldly life, and he was anxious lest the ruin of the monasteries and the wickedness of the monks should conduce to the king's condemnation. This the king could not endure. The abbeys, he replied, full of bitterness, were his own; he could, therefore, do with them whatever he pleased. But the archbishop answered, they are thine to protect, not to plunder them; they are God's, that his servants may live of them, not that they may support thy wars. Thou hast revenues enough from other sources; leave to the church that which is its own. Upon this the king replied, know that thy words sorely displease me. Thy predecessor would never have dared to address my father in such terms as these, and I will do nothing to please thee. Anselm now humbly begged the king, through the mediation of the bishops, to receive him again into favor. The latter counselled Anselm to offer him again the five hundred pounds, and to promise five hundred more. But to this Anselm could not be persuaded. His people, who had been the subjects of an unsparing robbery since the death of Lanfranc, he could not strip of their few remaining possessions; nor would he shew, by such a deed, that the favor of God was a thing to be bought and sold. The king now declared that he would no longer acknowledge him as archbishop; that he despised his blessing; and that he could go henceforth wherever he pleased. So the king withdrew into Normandy.

These transactions, however, took a serious turn, when Anselm opened to the king, after his return, his purpose to apply to the pope for his robe of office. The king asked, what pope?—for in England the claims of the rival candidates, Urban II and Clement III had not been

decided. Anselm reminded the king that during the transactions in reference to his acceptance of the archiepiscopal office, he had already declared to him and to the bishops, that as abbot of Bec, he had acknowledged the authority of Urban, and that he would not recede. William replied, that he did not acknowledge Urban as pope, and that whoever should so regard him without his (the king's) permission, should be held chargeable with high treason. Upon this Anselm asked for delay, that he might consult all the bishops, abbots and dignitaries of the realm, whether allegiance to an earthly monarch were or were not consistent with his obedience to the apostolical chair. If not, Anselm declared that he would rather leave the country till the pope should be acknowledged, than not yield obedience to him. The meeting was held at Rockingham, the eleventh of March. The bishops advised Anselm to consult simply the will of the king. He appealed, on the other hand, to the command, "Render unto Cesar the things which are Cesar's, and to God the things which are God's." This led to great excitement, and the bishops averred that they would support him in nothing that was against the king's pleasure. They were headed by William, bishop of Dunelm, who promised the king that Anselm should either abjure the pope of Rome, or renounce his office. He was told that by his obstinacy he violated his oath of allegiance to the king. Anselm, on the other hand, declared himself ready to justify himself before any fair tribunal. The bishops knew not what to reply. The narrator adds, "They now for the first time perceived what was new even to Anselm, that the archbishop of Canterbury can be tried and condemned only by the pope, and that he cannot be compelled against his will to answer to an accusation before any other." From this remark we see clearly what were the principles on which Anselm acted; but while he maintained them, no reconciliation was to be expected. Before he assumed the bishopric, Anselm had informed the king that he had already decided in favor of Urban; but no prominence was given to his assertion, and in the remainder of the arrangements Anselm seems to have laid no stress upon it. The point named must, therefore, stand out the more distinctly at a later period. The king too, though he did not proceed in the right manner, is

manifestly right in establishing the principle that he who pays homage to a pope not acknowledged by the nation and its prince, is to be regarded as guilty of high treason. He evidently perceived also the tendency of Anselm's principles, when he remarks,—“As long as I live, I will not tolerate an equal in my kingdom.” Hence he demanded of the bishops, that they should condemn Anselm. The bishops declared themselves incompetent to such an act, because they were his suffragans. They were ready, however, if the king desired it, to renounce allegiance to Anselm and friendship for him, in the hope of bringing him over. But the secular princes were of another opinion: when the king desired them to abjure their fealty to Anselm, they replied that as they had never been his vassals, they had never sworn allegiance to him, and therefore had nothing to abjure; and that as Anselm was their archbishop, they dared not, as Christians, rob him of his elevation. Indeed, it was for their interest to resist such an arbitrary act as the king was about to commit against Anselm, lest they themselves should experience the same treatment. A dissension now arose among the bishops. Those who declined to obey Anselm were declared by the king faithless subjects; he ordered them to a distant corner of the house to await his sentence; but by a large sum of money they immediately purchased again the royal friendship. Anselm now requested a convoy, that he might safely leave the country until quiet should be restored. But the king was unwilling that Anselm should retire in the character of archbishop, lest this should give rise to new troubles. Indeed he seemed to have no other alternative, but to abjure the pope on one hand, or to give up his office, on the other. Still he could not be persuaded to lay down his dignity. There was now an interval before Easter, during which the king promised Anselm that he should be safe; but his confidential housekeeper, Baldwin, of Tournay, he banished, and caused several others of his people to be arrested and fined.

In the mean time arrived in England, from the Vatican, Walter, bishop of Alba, despatched by Pope Urban, and attended by two of the clergy, Gerard and William. The king had sent them to Rome, that he might learn the exact condition of the Romish church, because it was not

known in England, which of the two popes had been canonically elected. By sacred promises, this legate was induced to send to the king himself the archbishop's *pallium*, without naming Anselm; then the king was to expel Anselm both from his office and from the kingdom, that he might give the robe to a man who should be agreeable to him. Walter travelled secretly through Canterbury with the robe, and hastened, without speaking to Anselm, into the presence of the king. The latter promised to pay a large sum of money annually to the church of Rome, if the pope would permit him to depose Anselm. But the bishop assured him that this was impossible. The king, finding himself fettered in his proceedings against Anselm, advised with his friends as to the best method of coming, at least in appearance, to a reconciliation with him. The proposal of the bishops, to gain the royal favor by money, Anselm sternly declined. At length, eight days before Easter, the reconciliation was effected.

The reception of the robe was the occasion of a new contest. Some endeavored to persuade Anselm to receive it from the hand of the king, in order to do honor to the regal state. But when Anselm affirmed that the gift was a special favor from St. Peter, and that the king had nothing to do with it, it was resolved that the messenger who brought the robe to England should lay it on the altar at Canterbury, and that Anselm should there receive it. Baldwin was now recalled to England, in the spring of the year 1096, and Anselm found at once an opportunity to show the reality of his friendship for the king.

William of England and Robert of Normandy had been for a considerable time entirely reconciled. The latter, wishing to join the first crusade, committed his kingdom to his brother during his absence, for a stipulated sum: to make up the amount, Anselm contributed 200 pounds in silver out of the treasury of the church of Canterbury, with the consent of the monastery; and the king gave up to the church, for seven years, the income of his domains at Pecheham, amounting to thirty pounds per annum.

But soon a new trouble arose, because, on returning from a campaign against Wales, the king affirmed that the troops furnished by Anselm were poorly equipped.

Weary of these incessant vexations, and observing the gradual decline of the churches and cloisters, under the multiplied exactions of the king, Anselm resolved to seek direction at Rome. At Whitsuntide, A. D. 1097, he applied to the king for permission to undertake the journey; but was refused on the plea that Anselm needed neither absolution nor counsel of the pope. Again and again Anselm repeated his request in vain. At last he resolved to go on his own responsibility, though the king had threatened in that case no longer to acknowledge him as archbishop, but to assume that rank himself. Even some bishops on whose aid Anselm had especially depended, went over to the side of the king; to wit, Walchelin, bishop of Winchester, Robert of Lincoln, John of Bath, and Osmund of Sherborn. These bishops, with several barons of the kingdom, at last brought him the decision of William, as follows: That Anselm had promised in Rockingham to observe at all times the laws of the land, and faithfully to defend them against all infraction; but that he had openly violated this promise by threatening to go to Rome, without first receiving the king's permission; that it was a thing unheard of, and contrary to the usages of the kingdom, that any of his nobles should presume to proceed in such a manner. To obviate further troubles of this sort, from Anselm and from every one else, he directed that Anselm should either promise with an oath never to appeal to the pope, under any emergency, or that with all speed he should leave the kingdom. After Anselm had ascertained from the king's own mouth that this was his pleasure, he replied that he had made that promise at Rockingham; but with the express declaration that the promise was confined to those things in which the king could exercise authority consistently with rectitude and the will of God (*per rectitudinem et secundum Deum*). But when the king and princes protested on their oath that not a syllable of this clause was uttered, Anselm could only reply with a sophism,—“If no mention was made of rectitude or of God, as you say, to whom or to what did that transaction refer? Far, far be it from any Christian to hold or to defend laws or usages which are known to be contrary to God or to rectitude.” Herein he indirectly concedes that those words were not used; and this, with the king, was the main point; for under so

indefinite a statement, what might not be included? But because that which was implied to be contrary to rectitude and to God had reference not to generals but to one point in particular, and on this point the opinions of the two parties were in direct opposition, a reconciliation was out of the question. If the matter of the appeal to the apostolical chair were given up, this would in the simplest manner untie the Gordian knot; but equally simple was the syllogism by which Anselm, from the position which he occupied, met the proposal: "A Christian ought not on any account to make such a demand; to take an oath of this sort is to abjure St. Peter. But he who abjures St. Peter, undoubtedly abjures Christ, who appointed him to the head of his church."

When the king saw that Anselm was not to be moved from his purpose, he permitted him to go, but with the condition that he should take nothing that belonged to the king with him; within eleven days he was to be at the port of embarkation, and there a messenger was to inform him what things he and his friends might be permitted to take with them. Upon this Anselm left the king, Oct. 15, 1097, and gave him his blessing. On the following day he left Canterbury with Eadmer and Baldwin, and went to Dover in company with William of Warelwast, a clerical brother, and an envoy of the king's. This officer kept strict watch over him for fifteen days, while he was detained by unfavorable winds, and immediately before his departure searched all his baggage in the presence of a great number of persons, because the king hoped to find money. But in this he was disappointed. As soon as he learned that Anselm had embarked, he took possession of the archbishopric, with all its wealth, titles and privileges, and declared every thing which Anselm had ordained by virtue of his office, null and void.

Anselm's journey through Flanders was a triumphal progress. The fame of his name preceded him, and both clergy and laity came out in crowds to meet him, with music and banners. The first limit of his journey was Lyons; Hugo, the archbishop of that city, having been for many years his friend. From this place at the end of the year 1097, Anselm wrote to pope Urban, requesting to be relieved of his office. The pope, in reply, summoned

him immediately to Rome, A. D. 1098. The journey, however, was not unattended with danger; because several persons waylaid Anselm, expecting to find upon him a great sum of money; and particularly because the emperor Henry IV and his pope, Clement III, caused all clergymen to be waylaid who were going to Rome. Anselm reached Rome in the end of March, A. D. 1098; he was received by the pope with great respect, and remained with him ten days at the Lateran. But as the heat was intolerable, and the residence in the city was unhealthy, particularly for strangers, he was invited by John, formerly a monk in Bec under Anselm, now abbot of the monastery of the Redeemer at Telesia, to a village called Sclavia, situated on the summit of a mountain and distinguished for its healthy air. Such an abode was particularly pleasing to Anselm. He hoped here to find repose.* Here also he returned to the mode of life which he had led before he was an abbot,† and the fruit of his meditations was the celebrated treatise *Cur Deus homo*, which he here finished. Anselm also established for himself a claim to the lasting gratitude of the people of Sclavia, who had suffered for want of pure water. Having prayed, he smote thrice upon the ground, indicating a spot, where, by digging a few days, they found an excellent spring, which proved to be a specific for fevers. From this circumstance the fountain was called by the inhabitants the fountain of the archbishop of Canterbury. The circumstance is related by Eadmer, who was an eye-witness.

Anselm was persuaded to exchange, for a season, this quiet retreat for the tumult of war. Roger, duke of Apulia, who had heard of the fame of Anselm, invited him to his camp at Capua, to visit him. On his arrival, the duke went out with a body of troops to welcome him. In the meantime pope Urban also arrived, and both remained till the duke had taken Capua at the end of May. While these things were transpiring, the king of England endeavored to instigate against Anselm all who

* Exhilarated with the hope of future quiet, he says, "This is my rest, here will I dwell"—*haec requies mea; hic habitabo*. Vita, Lib. II, p. 20.

† Devoting himself day and night to works of piety, to religious contemplation and to the solution of divine mysteries.

were capable of doing him injury; and for this purpose he had written particularly to the duke of Apulia. The latter, however, took no notice of it. On the contrary, he offered Anselm, if he would remain with him, the privilege of selecting the fairest portion of his territory and of enjoying it during life. On the raising of the siege, Anselm went with the pope into the region of Aviza, and Urban took up his abode in the city itself. But Anselm was invited to the abbey of St. Lawrence. Here, remembering his troubles in England, and in view of the recent accounts he had received of the increasing injustice and wickedness of the king, (of which, indeed, Eadmer relates things almost incredible,) he resolved once more to request of the pope permission to retire from the archbishopric. The pope, however, reminded him of the duty of a true shepherd, and enjoined it upon him, as a follower of Jesus, still to watch over the English church, which had been committed to his trust. If he could not immediately return to England on account of the king's tyranny, still he might be the legitimate archbishop of the realm. Besides, he encouraged him in view of the Council of Bari, which he had appointed on the first of October.

This Council was chiefly occupied, in the first place, with the question contested between the Greek and Romish churches, on the procession of the Holy Ghost. Urban made great use, in the discussion, of the work which Anselm had dedicated to him in the year 1093, *De Incarnatione Verbi*. When the debate waxed warm, the pope called upon Anselm to defend his holy mother, the church of Rome, to whose special aid a good Providence seemed to have sent him. Universal attention was now drawn to the hitherto silent member. Many did not know him at all. The pope, therefore, extolled his piety, and related how he had been persecuted for his uprightness, and wickedly exiled from his native country. Anselm immediately expressed his readiness, at the command of the pope, to open the question. Some proposed to delay it till the next morning, that they might pursue the subject with more thoroughness, and with greater freedom of spirit. On the following day, Anselm unfolded the question with such skill as to produce universal satisfaction. The reasons and authorities which he produced

in the discussion, he collected into a work, *De processione Spiritus sancti, contra Graecos*, which, at the request of his friends, he circulated wherever the views of the Greek church prevailed.

The second topic before the Council was Anselm's own situation. The pope spoke of the oppression of the English church, of the violent proceeding of the king against Anselm, of the exhortations and warnings which he had sent to him without effect, and then ratified the decision of the Council, that nothing remained but to launch against him the papal anathema. And it was Anselm alone, who, by the most earnest entreaties, prevented the execution of this decree.

When the pope returned to Rome with Anselm at the close of the Council, the messenger had just arrived from England, whom the pope had despatched immediately after Anselm's arrival in Rome. The report which he brought was that the king had received the communication of the pope, but absolutely rejected that of Anselm, and even threatened to put out the eyes of the bearer, if he did not leave the country with all speed. But after some days, William, above mentioned, was sent by the king with a reply to the pope's letter:—that it had caused his sovereign no small astonishment, that the pope had thought of desiring the restoration of Anselm; the affair stood thus: when Anselm conceived the idea of leaving the country, the king publicly threatened to assume the wealth, titles and privileges of the archbishopric, in order to hold him back from his journey. But as Anselm, notwithstanding, took his own course, no one could reasonably censure him for putting his threat in execution. The pope, in the highest indignation, exclaimed that such a proceeding was unheard of; and that if the king did not restore Anselm before the Council, which was to be held at Rome the third day preceding Easter-week, A. D. 1099, he would inevitably be visited with excommunication. But William prayed for a private negotiation, and succeeded in so far mitigating the anger of the pope as to obtain a further reprieve until Michaelmas. These proceedings occurred about Christmas, A. D. 1098. When Anselm perceived that matters were taking such a turn, he proposed to return to Lyons; but the pope detained him until the opening of the Council at Rome.

At the close of this session, all the enemies of holy church were excommunicated. The decree of excommunication included all lay-persons who had arrogated to themselves investitures of churches, all who had caused themselves to be invested by laymen, and all who had consecrated any person invested in this manner. But still more important was the decision which embraced in the same sentence of excommunication those who had made themselves the vassals of laymen, for the sake of ecclesiastical stations. They reasoned, that to the hands of the priest it is entrusted,—an honor conferred upon no angel, even,—to create, in their ministry, the all creating God, and to offer him as a sacrifice for the salvation of the world; and that it would be totally unworthy that these holy hands should serve those which are day and night polluted by contact with the world and with crime. Besides investiture, which alone had been submitted to ecclesiastical legislation since the time of Gregory VII, this Council also prohibited the feudal oath. This, indeed, had already been done by Urban at the Council of Clermont (A. D. 1096), and on the same grounds as were now assumed, and even by Hincmar in the ninth century, though not in so express and full a manner. But this decision of the Council at Rome formed a crisis in respect to the contest of Anselm with the king of England.

After the close of the Council, Anselm returned to Lyons, and fixed his residence there; for he had no hope of returning to England during the life of the king. Hugo, the archbishop, permitted him to perform episcopal duties within his whole diocese. Every where the people came together in crowds to receive the holy chrism from his hands, as they had done formerly in his journey through Flanders. Here he wrote the works *De conceptu virginali et de peccato originali*, and the *Meditatio redemptionis humane*.

In the mean time Urban II died, and Paschalis II succeeded him. This change was not unwelcome to the king of England. He now immediately resolved to act freely, and to grant to the pope only so much authority in his realm as he himself should find agreeable. He was the more disposed to take this liberty, because he had been informed that in some respects the pope was like

Anselm.* However, he did not long enjoy his liberty; for on the second of August, A. D. 1100, in a hunt in the New Forest, he lost his life by an arrow.†

William I was succeeded by his brother Henry I, who was present at his sudden death. Immediately upon that event he hastened to the castle at Winchester, and demanded the key of the royal treasure.

The nobles of England, however, were in doubt about the succession, because they did not know what had become of Robert, duke of Normandy, who had been absent five years in the crusades, and to whom Henry himself had sworn allegiance, by taking the feudal oath. Hence, in order to make sure of the throne, Henry assembled in London the clergy and all the people, and promised a melioration of the laws by which England had been oppressed under his father and brother. The clergy and the nobles desired that he would confirm to them, by a formal charter,‡ those rights and privileges which the kingdom had enjoyed under king Edward.§ Henry did so under oath, and was then crowned in Westminster by Mauritius, bishop of London.

Both the king, and the brethren of the church of Canterbury invited Anselm to return without delay; and Henry promised to submit both himself and his kingdom to his counsel and direction. Indeed, Anselm's return was of essential advantage, as well to the nation as to the king; the former saw in him a pledge for the king's veracity; the latter, for the security of his throne.

Thus, after a residence of two years, Anselm departed from Lyons, regretted alike by the archbishop and the

* When the king was informed of the death of Urban, he said,—“Let him be anathema who cares for it.” Then he added, “But what sort of a pope have we now?” When it was said in reply, that in some things he was like the archbishop Anselm,—“By the face of God,” he answered, “if he is such, it is no matter. However, let him keep by himself; for his popeship this time shall not get the upper-hand of me; having gained my liberty, I will do as I please.” He did not think that the apostolical head of the whole earth could have any authority in his kingdom, without his permission. *Hist. Nov. Lib. II, p. 56.*

† His brother Richard lost his life in the same forest at an earlier period, while their father was yet living. It is also related that a grandson of William the Conqueror, a son of Robert of Normandy, likewise named Richard, was killed by an arrow in a hunt in the same place.

‡ Called *Charta Libertatum*, the basis of *Magna Charta*.

§ Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred, the last Anglo-Saxon king before the conquest of England by the Normans, died A. D. 1066.

people. For several days, he was accompanied both by men and women from village to village, and landed on the twenty-third day of September in Dover, having been exiled from England nearly three years.

II. From Anselm's return to England till his death, (A. D. 1100-1109).

The new principles which Anselm brought with him from Rome laid the foundation, from the very first, for a difference with the king. When the monarch, after the custom of his predecessors, wished to administer to him the feudal oath, Anselm assured him of his purpose to follow the decisions of the pope; if the king gave his assent, peace would be established between them; but if not, it would be neither useful nor honorable for him to remain in England; especially seeing that, in the event of the king's levying a tax upon the bishoprics and abbeys, he should feel himself obliged to abjure all connection with him and with the officers whom he might create. By this decision the king was completely confounded. On the one hand, he was unwilling to give up the privileges of investiture and the feudal oath;* that would be to lose half his kingdom. On the other hand, he feared that if Anselm should go over to Robert, who had returned from Jerusalem in September, he might easily set him on the throne of England. Henry, therefore, asked for a postponement of his decision until the next Easter. In the meantime both parties were to send an ambassador to Rome, in order, if possible, to bring back the papal decrees to a conformity with the ancient usages of the kingdom. Until that time the churches of England were to remain as they were, and Anselm was to be restored to the possession of the property taken by the late king. Anselm foresaw that this new negotiation would be of no

* In his fourth letter, Anselm informs the pope how the decrees of the Council at Rome were received: "After I had returned to England, having been invited back to my charge, I showed the decrees of the Council which I had heard personally: to wit, that no one should receive investitures of churches from the hand of the king or of any layman, so as to come, in this way, under the authority of a man; and that no one should presume to consecrate one transgressing this order. When the king and his princes, the bishops and others of inferior rank heard this, they were so much displeased that they affirmed that they would by no means yield their assent; that, rather than conform to such a rule, they would expel me from the kingdom, and themselves retire from the church of Rome." Ans. Epp., Lib. IV, 2, 4, 6.

use; but he yielded to the request of the king and his nobles, that he might give them no ground for suspicion.

The same year, Henry, the king, was married to Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and of Margaret, a daughter of Edward of England. It seemed to be a difficulty in the way of this arrangement, that Matilda had worn the veil; but she proved that she had done this for the security of her person, and that she had not taken the vow. This difficulty having been solved by the decision of an assembly composed of bishops, abbots, nobles and monks, held in Lambeth, the marriage ceremony was performed in Westminster by Anselm, on the feast of St. Martin. Notwithstanding, Anselm had endeavored to dissuade the king from the union, because she had once worn the veil, and thus signified that she would rather be the bride of Heaven than of an earthly sovereign. But the king would not be persuaded by such reasoning. Anselm, therefore, could not oppose the arrangement; but he prophesied that England would not long enjoy his posterity. Even Matilda was unfavorable to the marriage;* and it was brought about, on political grounds, by the persuasion of her parents.

In the beginning of the next year, A. D. 1101, Guido, archbishop of Vienna, was commissioned by Paschalis II, as papal legate for all Great Britain. But as it was a thing unheard of in Britain that any person should be the pope's representative except the archbishop of Canterbury, Guido was nowhere acknowledged as legate, and was obliged to retire. The following year, as a matter of personal respect for Anselm, the pope resolved not to send a legate to England again, so long as that prelate should be archbishop.

In the meantime, Easter had passed by; but as the ambassadors were not yet returned from Rome, the matter in suspense was delayed till this time. But Whit-

* Matthæus Paris (p. 40) thus relates the matter: "Matilda married him against her will, and consented only because she was wearied out by the importunity of her parents and friends. In their earnest solicitations they said, 'Most noble and illustrious lady, if thou consentest to this union, by thee will the decayed nobility of England be restored, and the alliance of mighty princes be renewed. If not, thou wilt be the occasion of eternal enmity between different nations, and of the shedding of blood, which can never be retrieved.' Matilda replied, 'Since it must be so, I consent; but the fruit of my womb,—(horrible to be told)—I devote to the devil.'"

suntide threatened the king with an appalling danger ; for he had information that the duke Robert was equipping himself for a voyage to England, to take possession of the throne. By the influence of Ranulph, bishop of Dunelm, who had led William into all his acts of tyranny, and was on that account imprisoned by Henry, but had escaped by bribing his keepers, he had already secured to his interest, through private letters, most of the nobles of England ; but because he had returned home from the crusade without resources, the execution of his project was delayed. The army which Henry sent against his brother by sea, mostly went over to Robert ; and when the latter landed at Portsmouth before the first of August, the nobles of the kingdom were prepared at once to strike a blow in his favor. In this emergency, Henry, who trembled not only for his throne, but also for his life, applied to Anselm to exhort the nobles not to recede from their loyalty. The efforts of Anselm were successful, and a reconciliation took place between the two brothers. Henry was to pay to Robert a yearly stipend of 3000, or according to another writer, 4000 marks of silver, which Robert at once presented to his sister-in-law, the queen Matilda ; and it was now agreed that on the death of either of them the survivor should be his heir, in case he should die without male posterity.

At length in the following year, A. D. 1102, a letter arrived from the pope, which absolutely forbade the king to exercise the privilege of investiture, but still left no room for the suspicion that he designed by this measure to weaken the royal power, or to arrogate to himself any thing further in connection with the authority which he claimed respecting bishops. So far was he from any such design, that he would much rather be at the king's service in all other things, if he would only relinquish those claims which were manifestly opposed to the will of God ; and, he maintained, the royal authority would be both more efficient and honorable, if the authority of God in the kingdom were paramount. The king, however, did not suffer himself to be deceived by his rhetoric ; and he gave Anselm his choice, either to take the feudal oath, and to consecrate, after the manner of his predecessors, the bishops and abbots whom he should appoint, or to

leave the country without delay.* But Anselm would consent to neither. He was even unwilling to be absent any more from his own church; he chose rather, in the fulfilment of his duties, to await any act of violence that should be attempted upon himself or his friends. By the authoritative decision of the pope, the archbishop now deemed himself absolved from his oath to king William, and as, henceforth, only the instrument of the papal chair. But the nobles of the land, and particularly the bishops, adhered in the closest manner to the throne, and zealously sought to maintain entire independence of the pope, that they might preserve the liberty of the English church. Before he proceeded to violent measures, however, the king undertook to try again the influence of negotiation; the alternative was seriously set before the pope, either to recede from his decision, or, if Anselm and his friends were expelled, to lose his authority in England and all the benefits which he received every year from that country. Upon this Anselm sent two monks, Baldwin, above named, and Alexander, from Canterbury, not to persuade the pope to yield, but partly to confirm the king's menaces, and partly that he might learn with certainty the decision of the papal chair. The king appointed as his ambassadors three bishops, Gerard of Hereford, who had recently become archbishop of York, Herbert of Norwich, and Robert of Chester, who had his residence, however, in Coventry. The pope was immovable, having just renewed, in a Council of Lateran, the decisions of his predecessor. But when the bishops returned, they affirmed that the pope had authorized them to say to the king verbally, that so long as he showed himself a good sovereign in other respects, he would allow him the right of investiture; that he was unwilling to put this in writing, lest, as the bishops said, other princes might hear of it, and usurp the same privilege contrary to the authority of the pope. As this decision conflicted with the pope's letter to the king and to Anselm, the latter judged it ex-

* The king here combines the right of investiture with the feudal relation. He was unwilling, in a summary way, to give up the former; in the case of the clergy he was obliged to be tenacious of the latter, lest he should sever the last link that bound them to the throne. He was sensible of the difficulty of his situation; and therefore it was that he declared to Anselm,—“I will not depart from the usages of my predecessors, nor sustain any officer in my kingdom, who will not be to me a loyal subject.”

pedient once more to send to Rome. The king immediately made use of the permission granted him, by making two of his clergy bishops, in concurrence with all the noblemen of the kingdom, to wit, Roger, his chancellor, bishop of Salisbury, and Roger, his steward, bishop of Hereford.

During this time, Anselm succeeded at last in bringing about a General Council, composed of all the bishops and abbots of the kingdom, and held at St. Paul's church in London. Among the decrees of the Council, which related particularly to church-discipline, the following are worthy of notice: first, that no arch deacon, presbyter, deacon or canon may marry; or, being married, may retain his wife: this decision became necessary, because the prohibition of Gregory VII to the same effect was by no means observed. The two other decrees are an index to the state of morals in England: that no one should presume to sell human beings in England like brute animals, as had been done hitherto;* and, that persons committing sodomy and those voluntarily aiding them were solemnly anathematized by this Council, until, by penitence and confession, they should be entitled to absolution. The universality of this crime may be inferred from the fact that it was ordered that this decree should be read every Sabbath day throughout England, and that Anselm was even obliged again to let the order lie unfulfilled. Eadmer remarks that the decrees of this Council were of little utility or force.

Anselm, however, refused to consecrate the new bishops nominated by the king, and the king commissioned Gerard, the archbishop of York, to perform the duty. Upon this, Reinelm, formerly the queen's chancellor, but recently installed into the place of Robert of Hereford, deceased, sent back to the king the ring and staff; for which he was driven from the court. When Gerard was about to perform the ceremony, aided by the other Roger and by William of Winchester—the latter of whom had been appointed bishop before Anselm's return, but not consenting to accept the staff from the king, had lately received it from the hand of Anselm,—William also retracted, and

* The selling and exchanging of wives was frequent at this time, particularly in Ireland.

was likewise driven from the kingdom. But the king made one more experiment with Anselm, before he was forced to punish his disobedience; for he resolved, if Anselm should not submit to the established customs, either to inflict upon him physical punishment, or to expel him from the country in disgrace, and assume to himself the rights of the church. Anselm replied that his messengers had brought letters from Rome which the king might read, and see whether they contained any thing that should induce him to yield; and that he (Anselm) would not even open the letters himself, that he might cast off all suspicion. The king, however, declared that he would no longer hear such circumlocutions; he was resolved to have a decisive sentence. What need had he to justify his course to the pope? Whatever privileges his predecessors in the kingdom enjoyed, were his natural right; and he who would deprive him of them was his enemy. But Anselm affirmed as he had done before, that he had no wish to deprive the king of any thing, but that he could not depart from the decision of the Council of Rome. The contest waxed so warm that the friends of the church feared for the personal safety of Anselm, and the peers of the realm, on whom the king had hitherto leaned for support, were robbed of their peace. Throughout the whole church, prayers were offered that the impending evil might be averted. In this crisis, the king deemed it best to request Anselm to visit Rome in person, and to persuade the pope not to ruin himself by abridging the rights enjoyed by his predecessors. This measure would at the same time deliver him, in the simplest manner, from the presence of a troublesome man. Anselm understood this, and hence asked the privilege of delaying until Easter, A. D. 1103, that he might seek the advice of the bishops and princes of the realm. It was their unanimous opinion that in a matter of so much importance, Anselm ought not to decline a journey to Rome. Though in feeble health, Anselm expressed his readiness to go, at the same time solemnly declaring that, in his intercourse with the pope, he would take no step inconsistent with the freedom of the church or with his honor. The assembly replied that the king should bring before the pope, by a special ambassador, his own requests

and the state of his kingdom, and that Anselm was to agree with him only when he spoke the truth.

Anselm hastened to leave England, that he might not contract any guilt in case that, in the pope's letter which he had not opened, any of the servants of the church should be excommunicated, and he should hold intercourse with them. In the mean time, several investitures had taken place, and some abbots so invested had been consecrated by Robert, bishop of Lincoln, and John, bishop of Bath. He first opened his letter in Bec. In this, Paschalis gave him the most distinct assurance that he had communicated no such decision to the bishops, and he declared the investitures or consecrations that had taken place under its authority null and void. But it is still extremely probable that the pope at that time gave to the commissioners of the king secret instructions, or at least that he awakened expectations which he did not officially acknowledge, or did not venture to confess to Anselm; for those bishops in the most decided manner protested the truth of their declarations. They repeatedly affirmed the same before the whole assembly of bishops and noblemen of the kingdom; and even with the most striking *naïveté*, they appealed to the witness of the papal chair.

Anselm now remained in Bec until about the middle of August, having been advised by Ivo of Chartres and other persons of character and consideration, not to expose himself to the heat of an Italian summer. Hence the king's commissioner, William, with the two bishops, Robert of Litchfield and Herbert of Norwich, reached Rome before Anselm. They laid open to the pope the condition of the kingdom and the kind feelings cherished by the king towards Rome, on account of which, through the favor of the pope, the kings of England had always enjoyed higher dignity and more extended privileges than other princes. Hence it would not only be cruel to abridge the present king of the rights enjoyed by his predecessors, but also, as he well knew, a great disadvantage to the people of Rome; and should they deprive the king of his rights, they would certainly, when it was too late, repent of their loss. At length, encouraged by the epistle of the pope and of Anselm, who was present, William broke out in these words; "If I may speak freely, I de-

clare to all persons here present, that my sovereign will not be deprived of the privilege of investiture, for the price of his kingdom." To this the pope replied briefly: "If, as thou sayest, thy king will not give up the presentation of benefices for the price of his kingdom, know thou—I speak it before God—that Paschalis will not leave him unpunished for the price of his head." By this declaration, William was evidently disturbed. To soothe, in some manner, the feelings of the king, however, by the advice of his counsellors, Paschalis allowed to him a part of the privileges inherited from his father, and relieved him from the bann of excommunication pronounced by his predecessor in the Council of Rome; but those who had been or should be invested by him were to remain under the anathema.

Anselm was dismissed by the pope with a concession cheap indeed; he confirmed to him and to his successors the see of Canterbury with all its privileges, as all his predecessors, from Augustine downwards, had held it, through the authority of the papal chair.

After Anselm's departure, William made one more experiment with the pope; but, not succeeding, he obtained simply a gracious letter from Paschalis to the king, in which, however, the principal cause of grievance remained unaltered. On his way, Anselm joined William at Piacenza, and they went in company to Lyons, where Anselm was to celebrate Christmas with his attendants. William, however, was in haste, and separated from Anselm. But before leaving him, he opened to him the decision of the king, of which he had been silent till this time, because he thought that a different decision might have taken place at Rome. The substance of the decision was, that Henry would be glad to receive him if he would conduct himself towards him as his predecessors had conducted themselves towards the former kings. Anselm understood the hint, and prevented him from speaking further. He now remained for the present in Lyons, but could not forbear to write to the king, inquiring whether he could return to England with his feelings unchanged? The king adhered to his demand, and Anselm refused compliance, because at his ordination he had not promised to obey the laws of his father or of Lanfranc, but the law of God and of his office. He had, however, fulfilled to

the letter the obligations of the feudal oath; so that the rest was understood by him without mental reservation, at least Anselm assented to it in silence.

In the beginning of the year 1104, the king wrote back to Anselm through Everard, a monk of Canterbury, that he had no wish for his return; (he had already taken possession of all the revenues of the bishopric;) Anselm, therefore, remained in Lyons for fourteen months. In the mean time disorder and corruption crept into the English church, and there was a universal desire for Anselm's return. The king did not wish to throw any obstacle in the way; but as he abated nothing from his demand, his repeated embassy to Rome was without effect. Indeed, in the beginning of the year 1105, Paschalis renewed the excommunication of those who had received investiture by the king's authority, extending it also to the king's counsellors, at the head of whom stood the earl of Melent; he delayed issuing the same sentence against the king himself, as he wrote to Anselm, because he expected another ambassador from him. When, therefore, Anselm saw that the pope was constantly putting him off from one time to another, he resolved to leave Lyons, and to pass over into France proper. From Clugny he went to visit Adele, countess of Blois, sister of the king of England, who knew Anselm in Bec, and of whom he heard that she was sick. He gave her to understand the object of his return to France, to wit, that he had come to excommunicate Henry, the king, on account of his many acts of injustice both against himself and against God. The countess, resolved to act as a mediator, sent messengers to Henry who was then in Normandy, and had subdued to himself almost the whole country.

When Henry learned the purpose of Anselm through his sister, he sought by all means to prevent it. By her instrumentality he obtained an interview with him in l'Aigle, between Montagne and Lenz in Normandy, and there a mutual reconciliation took place. On many points, however, they were unable to agree: the king, for example, desired Anselm to fellowship those whom he had invested, as rightfully holding their offices; Anselm, therefore, resolved to remain in France, till these points were settled through the ambassadors who should be sent to

Rome. This meeting took place the twenty-second of July.

The restoration of harmony gave the king the more pleasure, because a report had already gone abroad that he was to be excommunicated, that his administration was grown unpopular, and that many evils were only waiting for the consummation of that act to burst upon him. In order, therefore, to delay Anselm's return to the seat of the archbishopric, the king promised to manage his embassy to Rome, so that a reply might be received before Christmas. But he detained the ambassadors long beyond the appointed period, showing that he was more concerned to prevent the excommunication, than in reference to the restoration and return of Anselm. The latter bitterly complained of this to the king, and wrote a severe letter to the earl of Mellent, his counsellor; he advised him to beware lest the anger of God should be kindled against himself and his sovereign; for God was now restraining it, only with the hope that they would humble themselves to his will.

In the mean time Anselm remained in Bec. The king, not having been able entirely to subdue Normandy, returned to England to replenish his exhausted treasury. In collecting money, his officers committed many acts of violence and wrong. If a man had nothing to give, he was either driven from his house, or his house doors were taken away, or his furniture was carried off. Even the clergy were not exempted. From a letter of Anselm to the king, we learn that he artfully obtained money from the clergy, by fining all who transgressed the requirements of the Council of London. To this, indeed, a worldly sovereign was not competent, as Anselm suggested to the king; but the latter, in a scornful tone, replied, that his letter surprised him; for he supposed that he had acted, in what he did, agreeably to his wishes. When, therefore, the king came to London, about two hundred priests in white raiment and barefooted, were drawn up before his palace, who implored his mercy. He required them immediately to remove out of his sight. Upon this, they sought the mediation of the queen; but she, though melted into tears, did not venture to speak in their behalf. The demands became so oppressive that the bishops, who had always been on the side of the king, implored the

help of Anselm, and promised to obey him in spiritual things in future, as their rightful father. Anselm, however, excused himself, because he was not certain what treatment he was to expect, until the ambassadors returned from Rome.

Finally in March, A. D. 1106, the ambassadors of the king and of Anselm, William of Warelwast and Baldwin of Tournay, returned from Rome, and brought a decisive letter from Paschalis to Anselm. The lofty tone and humble contents of this letter are so characteristic, that we give an extract from it.

“Thanks to the Father of mercies, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, that in his condescension he has inclined the heart of the king of England, to yield obedience to the apostolical chair. We attribute it to thy charity and to thy earnest prayers, that mercy has been shown to the people over whom thy watchful anxiety extends. We have been moved, as thou knowest, by love and compassion towards the king and others who have offended with him; and we have manifested towards them so great condescension, that we might raise up those that are fallen. He who, while he stands, reaches out his hand to assist the fallen, will never raise him up, unless he bends down to him; but by bending to the fallen, he does not lose his own uprightness. Now, reverend and very dear brother in Christ, we absolve thee from that prohibition, or, as thou deemest it, excommunication, which thou knowest was issued by our predecessor of blessed memory, pope Urban, against investitures or persons taking the feudal oath. Those who have received investitures, or who have consecrated those who have received them, treat with consideration, as we signified to thee by our common ambassadors, and grant them absolution in our name. If any persons shall hereafter assume to themselves prelatial functions, by investiture of churches, even though they take the feudal oath to the king, deprive them not, on this account, of thy benediction, hoping that, through the mercy of God, the royal heart will be mollified by thy exhortations, so that he will renounce this custom. Extend absolution, also, to the king and his wife, and to those noblemen who have endeavored, according to our injunction, to bring the king in this respect to correct views. And now seeing that the

Lord of hosts has made us the instrument, in this act of discipline, of accomplishing so much for his honor and for the honor of the church in the British empire, we pray that your society may hereafter so abound in gentleness, faithfulness, wisdom and care for the king and his princes, that through divine help, the things which are still wanting may be set in order by thy zeal and labor."

It is a striking circumstance that Paschalis in his letter retracts nothing of the decrees of Urban, but permits the matter of investitures and the feudal oath to remain unchanged. Paschalis dispenses with the strictness of the laws only in this particular case, and sanctions still further that which had hitherto been allowed to Henry. But now, not only had the king, like his predecessors, administered to the clergy the feudal oath, but had also invested them with the ring and staff. In the present case, the discussion related principally to the feudal oath, as the debate between Henry and Anselm had reference to its obligation. Hence Paschalis vindicates expressly the privilege of investiture, but allows the king, in the meanwhile, the feudal oath. That this was the interpretation put upon the pope's letter, we shall soon see.

When the king learned from William the contents of the pope's letter, he was greatly rejoiced, and summoned Anselm to return immediately to England. The latter was sick; but the king's ambassador persuaded him to set out. His disease, however, returned before he reached Jumiege, and he was forced to remain there a whole month. During this period he received information that the king was soon to pass over into Normandy. From Jumiege he returned to Bec, to await there the arrival of the king. He came in August, and a reconciliation took place between him and Anselm. The king liberated the churches from the burdens which were laid upon them under the former reign, and promised to indemnify the priests for the money which he had taken from them, and Anselm for every thing which he had used belonging to the estates of the archi-episcopate, during his absence.

Upon this, Anselm returned to England. He was welcomed with greatest joy, and the queen, in particular, prepared for him an honorable reception. In the mean time Henry had subdued all Normandy, taken pri-

soners Robert himself and the earl of Moreteuil (Moreton) with other noblemen, at Temochebrai, September 27, A. D. 1106, and carried them to England, where he held them in custody.*

At Easter, A. D. 1107, when the king had assembled at his court the noblemen of his empire, it was resolved to complete, at Whitsuntide, the arrangement of the church-affairs, because Paschalis, who had come to France, desired that the two ambassadors, William and Baldwin, should be sent to him again to the Council which was to be held in Troyes; and the king flattered himself with the hope that, at their return, he should receive some new favors.

Upon this Anselm retired to the abbey St. Edmund, in order to discharge some official duties. But falling sick, he was detained there so long that it was necessary to delay the convention until the first of August. Here, though Anselm was unable to be present, the subject of investiture was discussed for three days between the king and the bishops, and some endeavored to persuade the king to exercise the privilege after the manner of his predecessors. But in accordance with the decision brought by the ambassadors from France, the pope had granted to the king the feudal oath, and therefore persuaded him to give up the privilege of investiture. Hence, on the appearance of Anselm, the king consented, having been persuaded chiefly by the earl of Mellent, who had been gained over to the interest of the pope,—that hereafter no one should receive from the hand of the king or of any layman the ring and staff, investing him with the authority of a bishopric or abbey. In return, Anselm granted that no one appointed to such an office should be denied the ceremony of consecration, on account of having pledged himself by the feudal oath to the king.

Thus ended the protracted contest between church and state in England, in the same manner as in Germany by the *concordat* of Worms. The two powers were divided in respect to investiture and the feudal oath; and to appearance, the regal power lost, while the church was vin-

* Robert, encouraged by the deceitful promises, especially of the Earl of Chester, the following year escaped from prison. But he was brought back again, and, by the command of his brother, his eyes were put out. Matth. Par. p. 43.

dedicated. But every one knows how soon the popes had cause to complain of the interference of the princes in ecclesiastical elections. In fact, by that event the papal system suffered a serious rebuff, inasmuch as it did not succeed, by the prohibition of the feudal oath, in sundering the last tie by which the principal servants of the church were bound to the state; and yet the progress from the prohibition of simony to that of investiture, and from this to that of the feudal oath, was an inevitable consequence, lying in the nature of things. While in this manner the independent importance of the state was established, the decisive contest was coming on between the ecclesiastical and civil power. Of this contest the theatre was in Germany and Italy, because the opposition there reached its highest acmé; that which occurred in England in the affairs of Anselm was, however, a prelude.

In conformity with the decrees of the London Convention, clergymen were instituted at once, partly for the churches of England, and partly for Normandy, and indeed by the king himself, the symbols of investiture, however, not being used. Anselm also required Gerard, who had been translated from the bishopric of Hereford to the archbishopric of York, to repeat the oath of allegiance, and on the eleventh of August, consecrated five bishops, to wit: William of Winchester, Roger of Salisbury, and Reinelm of Hereford, before mentioned, together with William of Warelwast, who had been elected to the see of Exeter, and Urban, bishop of Glamorgan in Wales.

In the mean time the king endeavored to restore morals and discipline, which had fallen into universal decay. In the year 1108, he gave strict orders in regard to it, particularly to the persons about his court, whose excesses had made them infamous throughout the country. But it depended especially upon himself to secure the execution of the decrees of the London Council of the year 1102. As celibacy, one of the principal abuses, had not been checked, Henry procured another Council to be held at Whitsuntide in London, at which Anselm and the rest of the bishops of England, in presence of the king and with the consent of all the barons, ordained, that presbyters, deacons and subdeacons should live chastely, and have no females in their houses except their nearest blood-

relations, agreeably to the decrees of the Council of Nice; but those who retained their wives after the Council of London, or who had taken others, should separate from them, if they wished to celebrate mass any longer; moreover, they were to make no arrangement to meet them any where, and no females at all were to be permitted to reside within the limits of a church; but even if they were obliged to speak to them on grounds of courtesy, it should be done in the presence of at least two valid witnesses from without. Whoever should not leave his wife, and yet should arrogate to himself the privilege of still celebrating the mass, should be called to account; and in the event of his declining to appear, should after eight days be excommunicated. The same ordinance was extended to the arch-deacons, who were also obliged to pledge themselves to receive no money as a compensation for forbearance with transgressors of this decree.

The same year the old controversy broke out again between the archbishop of Canterbury and the archbishop of York, which had already existed between Lanfranc and the first Thomas. Thomas, who was chosen archbishop of York after the death of Gerard, wished to receive the robe of office from Rome before he was consecrated by Anselm; and when the latter summoned him to appear for that purpose in Canterbury, he made various excuses, from which it was evident that he desired to avoid submission to the see of Canterbury. Indeed the canons of York, reckoning on the feebleness of Anselm on account of his age, informed him of this in so many words, maintaining the parity of the church of York and the church of Canterbury, and hence affirming that though their bishop might be bound to receive consecration in Canterbury, he was not bound to declare his inferiority to the archbishop there. Anselm extended the time for Thomas to appear in Canterbury to the eighth of November. But Thomas excused himself again. Hence Anselm assembled the bishops, and, with their advice, resolved to send to Thomas two of their number, and to exhort him to lay aside his opposition, or at least to appear in Canterbury for his consecration, and there, if he could, to substantiate his claims. Hence the two bishops consecrated by Anselm that year, Richard of London, and Ralph of Roffa (Rochester), were sent to him.

Thomas affirmed that he was expecting his messengers from the king, who was then in Normandy, and that after their return he should follow their advice. Immediately after, a letter arrived from Henry, praying Anselm to defer the consecration of Thomas till the next Easter, because the king was then expecting to return to England, and with the advice of the bishops and barons, would bring the contest to an honorable adjustment. Anselm, therefore, sent Odo, dean of Chester, and Abbold, monk of Bec, to the king, to beg him not to add the weight of his authority to produce dissension among the Christians of England; but he added that Thomas was so manifestly in the wrong, that he (Anselm) could not allow him the shortest space. The king received Anselm's message graciously, and promised to show practically that he would tolerate no schism in England.

In the mean time Anselm grew weaker day by day. But he wrote again, for the last time, an earnest letter to Thomas, in which he prohibited him from all clerical functions, until he had promised obedience to him according to ancient custom. He also forbade all bishops to consecrate him, on pain of excommunication. He sent a copy of this letter to all the bishops of England for their consideration. Immediately after, Thomas was obliged to yield, and was then consecrated by Richard, bishop of London.

In the mean time, Anselm was already dead. Eadmer gives the following account of his death: After his sickness in the year 1107, a severe weakness continued to linger about him, so that at last he was obliged to be carried in a litter, and could take food only with great difficulty. On Palm Sunday in the year 1109, when his attendants were sitting around him as usual, one remarked, that it seemed as if, at Easter, he would bless the festival, and then be translated into the kingdom of his Lord. Anselm replied, that he gave himself up to the will of God; but that he should be grateful if he were permitted to remain until he should complete his discussion on the origin of the soul, on which he was then engaged; because he knew not who, after his death, could bring it to a conclusion. On the third evening afterwards, when he was no longer able to speak, Ralph, bishop of Roffa, begged him to give his blessing to those who were present, to the

king and queen with their children, and to the people of the kingdom who should continue to yield obedience to him. Anselm immediately raised his right hand, made the sign of the cross, and remained with his head bowed down. As the brethren were performing their morning devotions in the church, one of those who watched with the dying prelate took the gospels and read from the history of the passion, the portion which was appointed to be read at mass on that day. At the words—"Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations, and I appoint unto you a kingdom as my Father hath appointed unto me; and ye shall eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel"—he began to breathe more slowly than usual, and quietly fell asleep at day-break, April 21, A. D. 1109, in the sixteenth year of his pontificate, at the age of 76.

We embrace this opportunity to give some account of the character of this distinguished man. In a word, Anselm was a perfect monk. According to the views prevalent at that age, the highest religious attainments were to be found only in the cloister. Monastic life had a peculiar charm for him from an early period; and even the buoyant feelings of youth, which he shared in common with others, led him to seek such a life as his favorite and final destination.

The prominent feature of his life is deep and sincere piety. His inmost nature is penetrated by this divine element; both his intellect and his affections are filled with it. Hence, his religion, though not free from defects, is not sickly, but fresh and healthy. It is so fervent and child-like, so vivid and powerful, that it must be the fruit of a life hidden in God. Hence we see Anselm seated in his cell, absorbed in himself or in sacred books, but always sunk into the depths of the divine life. He unites in his contemplations the speculations of the understanding with the deep religion of the heart. The dialectic element which distinguishes his strictly scientific labors, is so innate and peculiar to him, that when he exhorts or instructs, his speech often falls into the form of syllogisms. But, on the other hand, his speculation avoids the empty, cold, partial and stately manner of the schoolmen who came after him, and seems filled and informed by the

warm breath of piety. It is every where the impulse of his own heart, that urges him to inquire into the mysteries of the divine life and of spiritual influence.

The piety of Anselm was not confined to the interior life, as a mere matter of contemplation. It passed over, also, to that which was external. Hence it was that he zealously engaged in all the duties of the monastery, and made it a matter of conscience to be faithful to the rules of his order, even in the smallest punctilios. In these things, spiritual worship might seem lost in the exterior; but the service of God could never become to him a mere matter of habit or of hypocrisy; on the contrary, his fervent, religious spirit consecrated the forms which in themselves were dead, and imparted to them life and power. The dangers attendant on monastic life were not unknown to him; he often confesses, particularly in his letters, that Satan follows a man even into the solitude of a cell; yet such a life is, in his sight, the summit of piety; he can scarcely express his joy, when another child of the world has escaped from its fetters and fled into the arms of God, that is, into the cloister.

However defective were these views of the world, they can hardly be deemed, for that period, erroneous: for it was the great problem of the age to show the true relations between the secular and the spiritual; and the gradual development of the system of monasticism tended gradually to restore men to their duties to the world. Anselm's contempt of the world was the offspring of his own individuality; it was not drawn forth because he entered the cloister; but, on the contrary, it was because this principle was in his nature, that he became a monk. The more the system of monastic life was organized, and the further it spread, the less was it possible to avoid contact with the world. The superiors of the monasteries, in watching over their interests, were obliged to mingle in various ways with worldly things. Anselm was by nature unfitted for this. Hence, when he was in Bec, he committed such matters to faithful servants. We have seen that he shrunk from ecclesiastical preferments, because they too often disturbed that contemplative quiet which was his element. The tumult of worldly business had an injurious effect even upon his body; and nothing but pious contemplation could obviate its injurious effects,

and restore him to his wonted repose.* His complete estrangement from the world led to that genuine simplicity and childlikeness of feeling, which, in the absence of experience and knowledge of the world, easily exposed him to injustice. The good man judged others by himself. It seemed to him impossible, it was contrary to his very nature, to measure the worth of another by a lower standard. He would rather be deceived, than indulge a groundless suspicion against any man. His simplicity and innocence, as might be expected, were often abused by his associates. When his attention was called to the fact that all persons were not like himself, he was made somewhat more cautious; but many there were who knew and acted upon the fact that he had not a heart to render evil for evil; so that the innocent simplicity of his life was itself made the instrument of the promotion of crime.†

* He could not endure to mingle in secular business, but by every means in his power he kept himself aloof from it. If empty clamors, contentions and quarrels arose, as sometimes happens, he took care either to quiet them, or as quickly as possible to withdraw himself from them. Unless he did so, his mind was immediately overcome and he sunk under bodily indisposition. Knowing his habits in this respect, we often drew him away from a mixed company, as a matter of duty, and proposed to him some question from the Holy Scriptures, by which both his body and soul, as if by the power of some healing medicine, were restored to their usual state. When he was asked why he was so little fitted for worldly duties, he answered, "I have long ago withdrawn myself from the love and desire of all worldly things; how can I be still skilled in matters pertaining to them? I speak the truth and lie not, when the pressure of them comes upon me of necessity, my mind quakes with horror of them, like a child, when a terrible apparition is forced upon its sight. I am no more pleased in disposing of them, than an infant is pleased at its mother's breast, when in sucking it finds the breast anointed with bitter unguents." *Vita Ans. Lib. II, p. 16.*

† His servants deceived him and became unfaithful. When they saw how gentle, mild and unsuspecting he was, they often cheated him by fraudulent cunning and by artful words. When Baldwin and other friends spoke familiarly to him of his excessive simplicity and want of worldly wisdom, he replied with the utmost innocence, and as if astonished at their suspicions,—“What! are they not Christians? And if they are, would they knowingly speak falsely, to promote their own advantage? It is impossible. When they speak with the utmost caution, and pledge to me their word and their oath, I should be deemed truly incredulous, were I to suspect them of uttering aught but truth.” This he said, supposing that what he would be unwilling to do to others, they would be unwilling to do to him. When it was answered, that they were different persons from him, he said, “I confess that I had rather be deceived by believing good of them, although, without my knowing it, they were wicked, than deceive myself by believing evil of those whom I have not found by experiment to be wicked.” But when afterwards the true state of the case transpired, he found that the things said by his friends were too true. Afterwards, therefore, he reposed somewhat less confidence in their words, but entrusted his other affairs to them nearly the same as before. And knowing as they did that he would not render evil for evil, without fear they proceeded to abuse his confidence more wickedly than ever.

Ibid.

His mild and friendly spirit always proceeded on the principle of thinking the best of others; hence he heaped "coals of fire" on the heads of his enemies. The severity of monastic life had no influence on his intercourse with others. He was admirably skilled in adapting himself to new relations and circumstances, and in entering into the peculiarities of persons of the utmost diversity of character, feelings and pursuits. It was this amiable quality which gained him every where a welcome reception, and carried his fame to the most distant countries. Hence the gratulations with which he was received every where in his journeys; it was the tribute of esteem and affection, paid not to the archbishop, but to the Christian and loving man. Such a spirit must have commended him especially to the young. He compared the youthful heart to pliant wax; and it was one of his favorite employments to impress the virtues of religion on the souls of the young. In this work, his habit of mitigating the severity of the rules of the monastery, agreeably to the dictates of his humane heart, contributed greatly to his success; he maintained that every one ought to live in such a manner, that they should not be felt as an oppressive burden, but that he should find in them the highest freedom. In pursuing such a course towards those under him, and especially towards the more youthful portion of them, he manifested the highest wisdom. An excessive and pedantic strictness he held to be pernicious. He compared it to a man planting a tree in his garden, and enclosing it on every side, so that its branches could not extend in any direction. It would produce only a distorted object.

From such prudence he reaped the most delightful harvest. Eadmer relates a single example in the case of a certain Osborn, a young man of talents in the monastery of Bec, who was distinguished by corrupt morals, and by extreme enmity towards Anselm. Anselm gained him, as Eadmer expresses it, by holy fraud and by a gracious and winning behavior; he was patient with his youthful follies, and winked at many of the excesses into which he was drawn by his impetuous spirit. The rudeness of the young man gradually passed away; he began to love Anselm, and to follow his advice. As soon as Anselm perceived this, he began to treat him as his confidant and to

lavish upon him his care and affection. He was not disappointed. His pious exhortations had their effect. And it was not till he perceived that he could confide in the growing strength of his principles, that he treated him with greater strictness. But the young man endured the change willingly. His religious purposes were confirmed. His zeal in religious duties perpetually increased, notwithstanding the reproaches with which he was assailed. In this Anselm greatly rejoiced, and manifested towards him the tenderest parental affection. Afterwards the young man was suddenly attacked by a violent sickness. Night and day Anselm sat by his bed; he performed all the duties of a servant; and after his death, for a whole year, he caused a mass to be said for him every day.

The gentleness of Anselm, however, was many times abused, because it was not always sustained, in an emergency, by the requisite decision. Hence many who merited the censure of the church, continued to make themselves vile, because they trusted in his compassion.

Mild, however, as Anselm was towards others, he was unsparing towards himself. He neglected none of the monastic regulations, but attended to every duty of monasticism in the most conscientious manner.

The first was poverty. The idea of property was not in his heart. He was shocked by the very name. He devoted to the common stock whatever had been destined for his special use; and he helped others, even when he himself, for the sake of it, must suffer want. Even before he entered the monastery, he had always acted on the principle that the riches of this world were created by the Father of all for common use; and that hence, the law of nature forbade one to possess more than another. At a later period, gold and silver were often offered to him, to be applied to his own wants or those of his friends; but he accepted nothing, unless it was given to the abbot for the common use of the brethren.

In the second monastic virtue, asceticism, Anselm attained such perfection that he was no longer sensible of the appetites or necessities of the body. He macerated himself in the severest manner by night-watching, fasting, and self-inflicted scourging. He carried fasting to such an extent that Matilda, the queen, entreated him to re-

frain, lest his body should become too much weakened to sustain life, and particularly, lest his voice should lose its power. At table his friends often deceived him, by engaging him in earnest and protracted conversation, in the midst of which he partook unconsciously of the food which they placed before him.

Finally, in the virtue of obedience, Anselm had no superior. He did not know how to inculcate often enough upon his disciples that it is the duty of a monk to obey his superiors in every thing which is according to the will of God; and after he became archbishop he associated with Eadmer, that he might not forget how to obey. But it was in relation to the papal chair that his obedience reached its perfection. We have seen how immovably faithful he was to the head of the church at Rome, how all considerations weighed nothing with him against the word of the pope. Indeed his submission to the pope came into collision with his allegiance to the king. Anselm's conduct towards the latter may easily seem like systematic and stubborn opposition. We are even inclined to justify the opinion that perhaps he would have effected more, had he known how to yield a little, instead of exhibiting from the outset such stern decision. But, on the other hand, it should not be overlooked, that, in view of the position occupied by Anselm, with relation to the pope and the church universal, any other course was scarcely possible. In a contest like this, in which the church and the world seemed arrayed, one against the other, it is a noble sight to look upon Anselm, standing steadfast to his principles.

“ Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinae.”

Moreover, opposition to the king was not so much the sin of Anselm, as the sin of the age. As in the case of many similar collisions, so here the usual standard of morals cannot be applied. Time has effected a change in the principles of the papal system, of which Anselm was the faithful minister. Thus much we may say with truth, Anselm's election to the see of Canterbury was a misfortune for the country, but a necessary one; for thus was England involved in the contest which constitutes the

principal interest of that period, and which had already broken out in the heart of Europe.

Both speculatively and practically Anselm is a true son of the church. He partakes of all its virtues, and of many of its defects. Hence if we find him deficient in intellectual freedom, he is animated by all the freedom and power which resided in the church; and in his active career he rose above misty speculations and worldly influences at least more than the leaders of the church itself. He was willing to yield up his own will and his own opinion; and we may therefore, in conclusion, speak of his modesty as a prominent feature of his character. Anselm was, perhaps, conscious that he was not formed for the higher offices of the church; hence it was, that in every way he opposed his appointment to the places of abbot and of archbishop. But we cannot deem it unnatural that this opposition was regarded by others who did not understand his spirit, as only the effect of a secret ambition. No greater injustice could be done to him than by such a suspicion; hence, in showing its injustice, he appeals to his former life. For thirty-three years he had been a monk; he had obtained the love of all persons in higher stations who knew him; the better they were acquainted with him, the stronger was their affection for him; but no one had seen in him any traces of pride. He calls God to witness, that if it were not for his duty to God and the church, he would rather have served in poverty under an abbot, in the capacity of a monk, than rule over others, in earthly dignity and splendor.

Thus, says our author, Anselm was "a man after God's own heart," an ornament of his church, an ornament of the age, and an ornament of all times.

His practical ability was of the utmost importance for the fame of the church. But his principal and more enduring merit is as a theologian. [And in particular his views of the doctrine of the atonement are of the highest importance to dogmatic theology. By his labors here, he stands, a lofty pillar, a solitary but sightly waymark, holding, in respect to this doctrine, the same relation as Athanasius, at an earlier period, did to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and Augustine to the doctrines of grace.]

ARTICLE IV.

THE WHALE FISHERY, AND THE WHALEMEN.

Rise and Progress of the Whale Fishery, with Historical Facts relative to Nantucket. By OBED MACY. 1835.

The Whaling Interest. Vol. V, Chap. 12, U. S. Exploring Expedition. 1845.

Brown's Whaling Cruise. Harpers. 1846.

VARIOUS considerations of a national, philanthropic and religious character, contribute to invest the whale fishery, and the nearly one score thousand of hardy, suffering and endangered seamen employed in it, with a transcendent interest. We sit down to pen this article with the conviction that hitherto this subject has not received adequate attention. Our own might not even now have been turned to it, had not our lot been cast in closer proximity than heretofore, to the principal scene of this enterprise. Though, for obvious reasons, the religious interests of these thousands of whalemén is the chief object, it may not be undesirable to prepare the way for its promotion, by a few preliminary statements in reference to the origin, history and extent of the whale fishery. This will at least give more completeness to the view presented, and possibly may convey desirable information on this subject to some of those who have not investigated it.

It is probable that as early as the closing part of the ninth century of the Christian era, the Norwegians began to prosecute this arduous and hazardous enterprise. From the rather vague statements on this subject which have come down to us, it would seem that they confined themselves to capturing a few whales in their bays and harbors. Nor is there any reliable record of more general and extensive operations in this business, till the Biscayans, some three or four centuries later, engaged it, when from Bayonne, Rochelle and other places, ships of small burthen were fitted out for the whale fishery. The small

whales then taken do not seem to have been very productive of oil; but the flesh was used as an article of food, and the whalebone was applied to various purposes, and brought a very high price. Near the end of the sixteenth century, both the Dutch and English, in the vain endeavor to find a passage to India through the Northern Ocean, laid open the haunts of the whale, and began to prosecute the enterprise of their capture. Even then they employed the Biscayans, before mentioned, as their harpooners, and for a considerable part of their crew. The Dutch speedily acquired a decided superiority over all their competitors in this business. When in the most flourishing state, about the year 1680, they employed as many as two hundred and sixty ships and 14,000 sailors in the whale fishery.

From the year 1660,—or forty years after our pilgrim fathers found a home in New England,—down to the end of the seventeenth century, there seem to have been various, and so far as can now be ascertained, nearly simultaneous and independent attempts to prosecute this business by the inhabitants of Cape Cod, those of Nantucket, and some of the British subjects in the bays around the Bermuda islands. Probably the first account of fishing for the *sperm whale* was by Massachusetts men, about 1720. Fifty years later, viz. from 1771 to 1775, Massachusetts alone employed annually one hundred and eighty-three vessels in the North Atlantic Ocean, and one hundred and twenty-one vessels of larger burthen in the South Atlantic. The first attempt to establish the sperm whale fishery from Britain was made in 1775. Nine years later, the French undertook to revive the prosecution of this business. The king, Louis XVI, fitted out six ships himself, from Dunkirk, and procured his experienced harpooners from Nantucket: others emulated the example of that monarch, so that before the French revolution, that nation had forty ships in this service.

The revolutionary war of the American Colonies, and the wars of the French revolution destroyed this flourishing branch of marine enterprise in both countries. Just previous to the war, Massachusetts employed in this service three hundred vessels and 4000 sailors, about one half of which were from Nantucket alone. During that war, fifteen vessels of this island were lost at sea, and

one hundred and thirty-four were captured by the enemy. The loss of life in prison ships and elsewhere, and the immense loss of property shows that Nantucket paid as dearly in that struggle for liberty as any portion of our country.

In 1792, the people of New Bedford turned their attention to this business. During the preceding year, some Nantucket ships had for the first time visited the Pacific in prosecution of this enterprise; and from that time, up to the war of 1812-15, there was a regular progression in this business. Since that period, also, the vessels of the United States employed in this fishery have vastly exceeded those of any other country. The number at present is about seven hundred ships and barques, with an aggregate of nearly 20,000 seamen, about one half of the whole sailing from the district of New Bedford. The annual value of oil and whalebone brought into the country is estimated at 7,000,000 dollars, in the crude state, to which the process of manufacture adds nearly 2,000,000 dollars more. The whole amount annually exported exceeds two million dollars. These data will give a tolerably correct view of the extent and pecuniary importance of this enterprise. Besides the more direct advantages of draining up from the great and wide sea such an amount of pecuniary value, to add every year to the wealth of the country, there are many indirect benefits of a national and commercial, a humane and religious character, well worthy of consideration. The whale fishery has opened the way for commercial intercourse of great value and importance in every quarter of the globe, and with many nations and tribes of men before unknown, or reckoned so savage and unapproachable as to defy all beneficial intercourse. The connection with the natives of many of the islands of the Pacific, has introduced among them a knowledge of and taste for the advantages of civilization. The *kanaka* of these islands, who has mingled with American seamen during a voyage of many months, and especially he who has visited the United States, viewed our cities and towns, with all the multiplied comforts and advantages here found, to which before he had been an entire stranger, becomes on his return home, another sort of man; distinguishable readily by superior cleanliness, dress and assimilation to those he has visited

in manners and habits. And when, as has often been the case, they are truly converted to God, the divine influence which they may henceforth be expected to exert on their contemporaries and successors, is incalculable.

But it is requisite we should take another, though less welcome view, of the sufferings and perils of these seamen who go in jeopardy of their lives, to bring to us from the other side of the globe, and from almost every line of latitude and longitude accessible to man, the comforts and luxuries drawn from the deep. Let us try to enter into a fair estimate of several items in the catalogue of their miseries. The privations they suffer, in various ways, form one of these items. These consist of a long detail of physical and social, as well as moral and religious deprivations. Their voyages are generally very long, and the provision for their comfort, for the most part, must be acknowledged very scanty and inadequate. Cut off from cleanly and wholesome food and clothing, which in our land of plenty it is the privilege of the humblest on shore to possess, the aggregate of sufferings from this source, even when they are not put on short allowance, and in danger of having to turn cannibals and feed on one another, is sufficiently revolting and painful. Diseases which are the direct result of such a course of life, especially the loathsome and deadly scurvy, is wont to make sad havoc among those crews who pay least regard to cleanliness and to requisite variety of food, and to the promotion of cheerfulness, and a hopeful, vigorous activity of mind among the common sailors.

Then again, the whaleman is torn from his home, his kindred; he sunders, certainly for a long season, and very likely for ever, many of the dearest and most sacred ties which bind man to earth. The claims of wife and children, of parents, brothers, sisters, to his presence, society and present aid, must all be annulled at the call of their duties on the sea. To some minds of the rougher and more brutal character, the sufferings on this account may be comparatively small; but a far larger proportion than is usually imagined, do endure poignant anguish from this source.

Moral and religious privations, too, require to be taken into account. We have personally conversed with not a few, especially of the young, who have in this way been

exposed for a voyage or two; and their testimony uniformly has been, that for the whaleman the opportunities of cultivating his moral and religious nature are painfully scanty and inadequate. The dark, miserable fore-castle is his only home; and its narrow confines are to be shared with a score of associates, the majority of whom, in almost every instance, sneer at every semblance of piety, and every habit of devotion. Without wholesome air or adequate light, without opportunity for reading the Scriptures or other good books, or to lift up the voice in prayer; with profanity and licentious conversation and songs, pouring their ceaseless tide over them, how small is the hope that those who have apparently begun the Christian course will make progress, or even be kept from sad declension! How much less prospect there is, that the sinner and the scoffer will be turned from the error of their ways to the wisdom of the just!

In the next place, among what may be regarded their minor miseries should be reckoned the frequent loss of their hard earned property. If this loss fell only or chiefly on the affluent, were it a mere subtraction from the accumulated gains of those who reckon their wealth by millions, or by scores or hundreds of thousands, it would matter less; but in a vast majority of cases, the loss of disastrous voyages falls on those who have scraped together their little all, made up of the hard earnings and careful savings of months or years, to make one grand adventure in the shape of an outfit, or perhaps a very small share in the vessel or the profits of the voyage, and then the ruthless sea sweeps all away in an hour. Its hidden rocks and sands, its mistaken currents, its desolating storms, its leaky vessels, its violent alternations of climate, have blasted many a hope and brought back the poor tempest-tost mariner penniless to his starving and long expectant family. On no part of this subject has the public opinion been more wide of the truth, than in the estimate formed of great pecuniary profit to seamen employed in the whale fishery. We have carefully inquired into this matter, and the result reached from a somewhat extensive investigation is, that common seamen are on an average more scantily compensated in this, than in almost any branch of service at home or abroad. They have no wages at all; and the *lays* allowed them, especially if

inexperienced, and if subject to the large deduction for outfit and for supplies of various kinds charged to them throughout the voyage, bring home nearly one half of them in debt or penniless, at the end of a three years' voyage.

Again, the oppression and indignity often suffered by the crew from the captain,—who, clothed with absolute authority, is tempted to act the petty tyrant over those subject to his control,—is a fruitful source of wretchedness to all concerned. We presume it is too true, that many now enlisted as seamen in our whale ships are of desperate and hardened character, who require a stringent discipline to preserve the ship from the wildest disorders; but it is one of the infelicities of the system, as now pursued, that all are reduced to this bad level; and that little which is humanizing and improving is introduced to heal these waters of bitterness. To a free-born American, accustomed to all the privileges of self-government and freedom regulated by law, nothing can be more odious and intolerable than subjection to the capricious whims of an unrestrained despot,—especially, as is too often the case, where a cruel disregard is manifested by him to all the claims and rights of humanity; where selfishness, passion and retaliation are the presiding impulses, which expel all better feelings. Brown's Whaling Voyage, the last of the works referred to at the beginning of this article, presents a spectacle of this kind, which, we are inclined to think, is much worse than the common average, but by no means rare. Brutal floggings with the rope's end on the bare back of a man triced up in the rigging, for the merest trifle; putting men in irons and half starving them to death, or leaving them destitute on foreign shores, are not to be thought of, except in cases of utmost exigency. Yet such is by no means the rare experience of whalemén, at the hands of masters who ought to regard their crews with parental affection.

It has generally been remarked,—we know not with how much truth,—that as a class, and of course with many honorable exceptions, the masters of whale ships are less intelligent, less refined and of course less humane than captains of our merchant-men; that the owners regard a good whale-catcher as the chief requisite in their

qualifications. This, if true, may account for much of the above evil.

Another item in this catalogue is the peril and loss of life. It is not easy from any general returns, to make out a definite and accurate statement on this subject, on account of the great fluctuation and various changes which occur more or less in all the crews, in the course of their long voyages. Many Portuguese sailors are taken in at the Western islands, and the natives of the Sandwich and other islands of the Pacific are also employed to a considerable extent, while a considerable portion of the crew which originally sailed, either by sickness or casualty are disabled from active service, and leave their ships, though it is hoped and believed that many of these find their way back again to this country. But judging from the very nature of the case, without unduly relying on such returns as might be deceptive, the loss of life in this service is fearfully great. From the increasing scarcity and shyness of the whales for the last few years, there has been more of reckless daring in the attempt to capture them. A ship's crew who have been fruitlessly searching for their prey many months, if they descry one or more, will run risks for securing them, which prudence, under other circumstances, would utterly forbid. A kind of frenzy seems to pervade the whole company; each boat-steerer and his little crew, vieing with the rest in determination to achieve their hazardous purpose or perish in the attempt. Hence they are led to exposures from which many of them do not escape. If to this be added the increased length of voyages now,—nearly double the number of months being required to fill up a ship, to what was formerly allowed—and the temptation felt and too often yielded to, to practise a niggardly economy in the outfit, or in the purchase of seasonable supplies, thus inducing diseases that shorten life,—it cannot but be admitted that a whalerman vastly increases his risks of an early death, unless more care and precaution are used than usual. The service itself, is by no means unhealthy.

We have left ourselves but brief space to indicate the improvements, physical and moral, which this service now loudly calls for, and which seem to be practicable. In order to their introduction, the cordial assent and vigorous coöperation of the ship owners are indispensable.

The United States government may aid in this in several ways, as intimated by Captain Wilks of the Exploring Expedition, whose manly and noble advocacy of needed reforms here and elsewhere entitle him to the nation's gratitude. As he suggests, there should be regular and adequate rations for the men, fixed by law, in the merchant service, and especially in the long voyages of whale ships, as much as in the navy. Some reforms, too, in the system of remunerating and regulating the duties of United States consuls in foreign ports is loudly called for, and must not be denied. The abuses and collisions between bartering consuls and buying captains, spoken of freely by Capt. Wilks, and almost bitterly by Mr. Brown, must be put a stop to, at whatever pecuniary cost to our government. We are inclined to think, also, that fore-castle accommodation for seamen might be regulated by law. Or, if that should be thought impracticable, let the law of public opinion be brought to bear upon that ship owner whose parsimonious spirit would otherwise prompt him to value more highly a few more barrels stowage in the hold, rather than the healthful accommodation of the sinews which must fill those barrels and that hold. That omnipotent public sentiment which can be made to frown into disgrace and intolerable banishment from companionship with the good, the accursed traffic in rum or in slaves, may also bring down its withering frown on the heartless being who would wring blood from the sailor's hand or heart, but refuses him for years a place better than a dog-kennel for his home!

When the above reforms are secured, almost every thing will depend on the masters and crews. If we could hope to gain the ear of both these classes, we would earnestly inculcate some things which if adequately considered by them, would vastly promote their mutual comfort, their self-respect, and their success. Respectfully but earnestly we beg leave to insist that the man so destitute of self-control that he cannot or will not govern his passions, and restrain his cupidity, should never allow himself in the command of a whale ship. Then, in the midst of the common excuses for the master's severity and moroseness to his crew, because of their alleged incapacity to feel or be duly controlled by any other influences, it is worth while, perhaps, to intimate to him, that so long

as he will try, perseveringly try, no other and gentler methods, it is quite impossible for him to know that no other and milder measures would avail. What a perfect burlesque on human nature itself, to suppose that generosity, kindness, love, will not sway the human heart. Why, these will tame even tigers; and they have never yet failed to influence benignly those on whom they have been discreetly expended. Then, if severity comes at all, you array the conscience of the punished on the side of rightful authority.

If masters and mates, or at least some one of the officers in every ship, were men of prayer, prepared to act as both patriarch and priest in that household—the ship's company; if every day God were acknowledged and his blessing unitedly sought, can it be doubted that humanizing and meliorating influences of most salutary character and wide efficiency would thereby be effected? At a period when the labors of Christian men as colporteurs and in other similar vocations are so widely called into requisition, is it not deserving of serious regard, whether some of them may not find an appropriate sphere of service in every large whale ship? One third of a hundred of immortal beings would here be continually under the influence of such a man, besides many opportunities of access to the heathen, or the semi-civilized and Christianized inhabitants, where for months his ship might be lying to refit. We confess this thought has often crossed our minds; and were our own years a score less, if other duties did not imperatively forbid, we would love to be associated in some sphere we might be competent to fill, with such a company, and try whether "prayer and pains, and faith in Christ" might not accomplish blessed reforms for this class of men. Of course a good understanding should be secured with master and mates beforehand, so that all should yield a willing assent, or at least throw no impediments in the way of such attempts to bless the whole ship's company. Alternately in the cabin and the fore-castle might such religious services be held, so arranged as to accommodate each watch of the ship, the officers and seamen alike. Nor can we doubt that a ship so arranged would become more inviting to a better class of sailors; and, where other things were equal, would always be preferred. Thus officered, manned and conduct-

ed, does any man who believes there is a God, who rules the winds and waves and the monsters of the deep, doubt of the superior success of this ship to that of one where vice produces disorder, where cruelty leads to mutiny, where mutual alienation and hate cut the sinews of all generous coöperation?

Nor is it undeserving the regard of the crew, that if they do not respect themselves and the truth, and the reasonable claims of shipmates and officers, they will have only themselves to blame if they lose the respect of God and man alike. It is not more true and reasonable that "good officers make good sailors" than is the converse, that good crews will make good officers. In almost all cases of difficulty there is wrong on both sides, in the end if not in the beginning. "To strive therefore to be blameless, cheerfully obedient and prompt at every requisition," should be the determined resolve of every good seaman. The happy results of the temperance reformation are already manifest, and call for admiration and gratitude. Why should they not prove the harbingers of other much needed reforms? Economy of time should provide some good and improving reading or study, or employment of some kind, for the many, many hours which are otherwise likely to hang heavily, and lead through idleness to corruption and sin. So plentiful is now the supply of good books, that it must, for the most part, be their own fault, if any ship's crew now sail unfurnished with a well selected ship's library. Economy of money should lead every sailor to secure means beforehand to procure his own outfit, and such means of refitting as the length of the voyage is likely to require, with some ready money in coin of convenient size for use at the ports where the ship may touch. A saving of more than a hundred per cent. may thus be secured, and on the return a handsome sum will usually be forthcoming as a remuneration for such toils, exposures and outlay.

Those who fear and serve God will scarce need to be conjured carefully to abstain from beastly indulgences in foreign ports. The time was when such abominable wickedness used to be practised by whale ships, among the heathen, as once provoked a holy God to send fire from heaven upon Sodom. And when the missionaries of the cross began their work of healing mercy among

these heathen, and laid some salutary restraint on the lustful depravity of these visiting ships' crews, who does not remember the loud and foul reproaches which the latter attempted to cast upon the former? The truth is now generally known and confessed; and the missionaries have won the high meed of approval which their noble disinterestedness deserved from both friends and foes.

Nor can we close these suggestions without earnestly bespeaking the aid of the religious public in assisting to secure the reforms here advocated. In the country as well as in the town or city, in the interior no less than on the sea-board, there is "a needs be" for arousing and wisely directing the public mind to these topics; for very many of those thousands who throng our whale ships are the sons of staid yeomen, far away from the ocean. The roving spirit of adventure lures thousands every year from their comfortable homes to engage in this kind of service. To disabuse their minds of many wild hallucinations, and dispel their golden dreams, such works as those named at the beginning of this article should be widely diffused. The first has many interesting incidents of Nantucket, besides its development of the origin and early history of whaling. The last is also fraught with unwonted interest from beginning to end, and gives the impressions of a shrewd but rather wild Kentuckian, who "was out of cash, and went a whaling"; besides much useful information of Zanzibar. The Christian will here learn how important and pressing are the urgencies which call on him to pray for the fulness of the sea to be given to the Saviour.

R. B.

ARTICLE V.

THE SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTER.*

BY REV. JAMES N. GRANGER.

BRETHREN OF THE SOCIETY FOR MISSIONARY INQUIRY :

WE have come to celebrate, with you, the anniversary of your Association. Among the exercises of this festival week, there are none more appropriate, at once to your pursuits and to ours, than those exercises in which you have invited us to participate this evening. While engaged in your professional studies, you have, by means of this Society, kept before you the realities of active life. While you have been examining our sacred Scriptures and studying the nature and history of Christian doctrine, and the philosophy of moral influence, you have not forgotten the living world before you. On the borders of the opening field we meet to-night : you, with your anticipations ; we, with our short experience. If any of us have obtained a nearer view, yours has been a wider and more animating one. The nations of the earth have passed in review before you, as if candidates for the prize of Christian men. The kingdoms of Europe, the tribes of heathenism, the churches of America, have seemed to urge their claims. It is therefore proper, that to-night, we consider matters pertaining to our common hopes and pursuits. Although the society is strictly a missionary society, as its name indicates, yet, thanks to missionary enterprise, the work of missions and the work of the ministry are no longer to be regarded as unlike, either in their nature, or their conditions, or their relations.

* The present article was delivered as an address before the Society of Missionary Inquiry of the Newton Theological Institution, on an Anniversary occasion, and at that time requested by the Society for publication. Circumstances have delayed its appearance ; but we are happy to be the organ of its presentation to the Christian public in the present manner and form.

For a theme appropriate to this occasion, I look to those who have called me here. I see before me the Christian, the scholar, the preacher: the man of studies as well as of piety: the lover of science, as well as of Christ. I think of the steps by which you have reached your present purpose to devote your lives to the explanation, the defence and the enforcement of the Christian doctrine. I think of the views of the great and worthy objects of human pursuit, which have been successively opened to you. A liberal education in the colleges and professional schools of our land throws some light on the nature and the extent of knowledge in every department of human speculation. It not only proposes a thorough discipline of the mental faculties, but some acquaintance with their beautiful and enduring fruits, with the meaning and power of language, with the treasures of literature, with the most important discoveries of the inductive philosophy, and with those bodies of exact knowledge which we term the sciences. You never will know a time when these things will not be valuable to you, not only for their own sake, but for yours, as Christian ministers. They will exert an abiding influence over you, which it will be your delightful duty to acknowledge. But the embassy on which you are soon to enter the world will hereafter employ you. It is a work unlike all others, and you must *do* it. You already understand its nature too well to suppose that you are hereafter to make equal progress in the studies or practice of any other profession. This is your office; to magnify it should be your strong purpose. But while you pause on this high standing point, thinking of the work before you, and of the work you leave behind, it may be well for you, and well for all of us to ask, what is the relation, which, in the world of thought, you are henceforth to sustain to those, who, having taken the same general and preparatory survey that you have taken, have made a different selection, and are now ready to fulfil the mission of educated mind in other departments of labor. It is no question whether the effects of disciplinary culture on the individual can remain the same in both cases. It surely can, if each is true to himself and to his calling. But there is another and a greater question to be considered: may the Christian minister expect, in all the beliefs he entertains, in all the processes

by which he secures and defends them, in all the practical duties which they legitimately impose, to be permitted to preserve, unrebuked by his religion, the true scientific spirit? In the apprehension and colligation of facts, is he to search with the patience, to challenge with the fearlessness, to receive with the meekness, which science ever imposes on her votaries? Is he to be placed under the conditions of inquiry, induction and application, to the steady enforcement of which the world confesses that it is indebted for doctrines of solid certainty and value? It is admitted that science aids in forming men for the work of the ministry—but, when it has formed them, and they are true to their calling, are they scientific workers in it? May they be, and ought they to be? And if they are, then, in what respect does the great work which Christianity imposes on its disciple and defender, resemble that of the successful philosopher; and, in what respect is the former unlike the latter, and superior to it? To a consideration of these questions, I invite your attention.

I would not chill piety by attempting to bring Christianity down to the level of any system of philosophy, or of any body of human science. But if there are certain established conditions on which all other successful inquiry after facts, and on which all right use of facts depend, I would ascertain, if possible, the value of those conditions to the man, before whom are crowded into one wide field of view, the scattered facts and truths of revelation, and the moral beings to whom they are addressed.

I go upon the supposition that, to some extent, the laws of philosophical inquiry, and the ends it proposes, are fixed and known. The science of man and the science of nature are no unmeaning or undetermined things. On various subjects of human speculation, our knowledge has assumed a substantial character. Whatever be the department which we enter, unless our philosophy denies the correctness of all our convictions, we can point out certain facts which have been ascertained, and certain general laws which have governed inquiry and induction. Whatever be the range of our speculation, there are certain known conditions on which truth is to be attained, and something already settled respecting the difference between true knowledge and its precarious semblances. Even the sci-

ence of mind, whose materials are all matters of consciousness, whose phenomena are revealed only to the spiritual eye, whose laws are the habits which govern their interpreter, has furnished him with some substantial truth, and taught him how to use it. There are certain mental processes which govern, both in the causal and in the classifying sciences. There are several analogies, some of which belong to the essence of truth, and others to the pursuit of it. But, do these analogies extend over and through the domain of Christian truth? Do these processes extend beyond the interpretation of its records and the proof of their genuineness, and govern in its application to the hearts and consciences of men?

1. In the first place, I remark that it is something to our present purpose, that Christianity addresses the human mind, and for the purpose of engaging in its service those faculties which find employment in all the departments of speculative pursuits. The fact is well enough known,—but observe it in the connection in which we have introduced it. If any thing respecting the design of the Creator may be inferred from the properties of his works, we may be assured that the human mind was intended to serve as a self-acting instrument for the discovery and right employment of truth. He placed man on the earth. He spread out before him its orders and classes of objects, and made him lord of all. No where can the creature turn, not even to the world of thought and of feeling within him, where glories are not revealed and voices are not heard. He has measured the orbits of the planets, and his this day's distance from the stars. In compelling nature to disclose her hidden operations, and to employ her mightiest forces in obedience to his will, he has seen the grandeur of real achievement eclipse the creations of fancy.

To this same man Christianity speaks. It addresses every known susceptibility of his nature. It employs every faculty. Indeed the simple statement of this fact is only another method of asserting the analogy which we seek. If Christianity is from God, how can it be that it is not adapted to all the constitutional habits and innate convictions of the being it addresses?—that it is not to be credited on the ground of evidence which is seen, practiced on the ground of obligation which is proved and

felt, and applied to its subject at those points, which a true philosophy of man, and which one comprehensive and generalizing survey of the facts and the doctrines, the powers and the uses of the Christian system, shall indicate? Is it right to do this? Is it lawful and fit? Take a single illustration:—the application to the sacred art of preaching of the principles and laws of higher rhetoric. What are these laws, but the just statement of the unalterable and universal conditions on which the completest effect of public speaking must depend? They are available, as well to the Christian preacher, as to the Grecian master of eloquence. Whatever be the object proposed, whether the salvation of a state or of a soul, they are the conditions which human nature every where acknowledges, and which Christianity does not disdain. They blessed the golden mouth of Chrysostom; they possessed the souls of Bossuet and Massillon; and they drew Hume “twenty miles to hear Whitefield preach.”

2. It is still more to our purpose to remark that the materials for all true science are *facts*: its business is, the proof, the statement, and the right use of that which *is*. For more than two hundred years this doctrine has held sway in the intellectual world. It was not always so. The time was, when the mandate of the received philosophy was, invent truth; create it. It is now commanded, find truth, and use it for its own ends, which it will tell you. The Baconian philosophy is not what the style of its immortal guide-book would at first suggest, an *organ*, a newly invented instrument for discovering truth; but it is a statement of the unalterable and universal conditions on which truth enters the understanding. Like the syllogism of Aristotle, philosophy does not create, but analyze. Bacon did not make a road through the wilderness, but he prepared a map of it. Next to this achievement, his greatest glory is, that he convinced the world that it is better to travel here, than to attempt bold adventures on cross-cuts and highways of their own engineering. He was not like Moses, to whom the verse of Cowley compares him, a law-giver, but like the true Christian minister, a law-interpreter. What Bacon has done on a large scale, every plain man is doing, and always has been doing, on a small scale. The doctrines of

common sense, and the natural impulses of reason, are the only guide to knowledge.

It is, perhaps, impossible for any one to say to what extent the world is indebted to the indirect influence of revealed religion for this reform. But it should not be forgotten that Christianity, whose facts have been subjected to the severest ordeal of historical criticism, whose truths have been multiplying their analogies to the natural laws of Providence to an extent which of itself seems to assert that the Author of nature and the Author and Finisher of Redemption are one and the same Being, had all along been summoning the world to attend to *its* facts, to understand and to use them, and that it had fearlessly dignified the application of its highest principles and rewards to the humblest offices of life: "the gift of a cup of cold water only, because ye belong to Christ, shall not lose its reward." As fearlessly, too, had it chained the understanding down to those things which were given it to know, and had forbidden the waste of time and of talent, in attempting to add to the substance of religious truth, by anathemas on the soul, which, although pertaining strictly to subjects of eternal importance, easily suggest, in this connection, the blighting maledictions of the modern reformer in the methods of science, on the labors of alchemists and scholastics: "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book." And as man gives up, in one department of nature after another, the vain chase after the unsubstantial archetypes of his fancy, in order to embrace the truth that is, it is cheering to note the analogies which theoretical and practical religion afford to the lawful operations and results of human science. Two single precepts, embodying the sense of Christian duty and reward, "buy the truth and sell it not," "this do, and thou shalt live," are easily, in a new application, converted into *dicta imperatoris*, which the whole realm of science will delight to obey.

When, however, we pause to look at the characteristics of the present age, it must be confessed that there are some indications of a retrograde movement. Theories and rules, in government, in social order, and in religion, are boldly set forth as claiming the faith and the obedience of the world, whose claim no one pretends has ever

been *proven*, but which claim not only the multitude, but also the educated mind, affirms to be valid notwithstanding. We know not whether this is because science is beginning to press too closely to the side of Revelation, and is claiming fellowship for the doctrine of Christ, or whether men are conscientiously disposed to try again the ancient doctrine of the perfect, self-generated *idea*. One thing is certain, that if the latter afford the true explanation of the present tendency of things in philosophy, the harmless *idea* of the ancients is to be converted into a strange and fearful power by means of its unnatural union with the modern doctrine of utility. While nothing is now to be believed in, simply because it has been tried and proven, every thing is to be risked for the *idea*. Government is to be broken up to its foundations; the social order is every where to be disturbed; while the blessed charities of the home-circle are to be extinguished forever, and the family constructed upon a new basis of economy. I never understood, until I looked at the subject in connection with these facts, the profound wisdom which the old Platonists exhibited, when they despised, as they heartily did despise, the man who studied philosophy for its beneficial uses. They scorned him: they said that he was no true philosopher. It was a most benevolent hate. It was not merely an aristocratic pride, cultivated in the narrow walks of intellectual breeding. For had each trained thinker felt himself compelled to construct after the model of his *idea*, had he only the short-sighted benevolence of his modern copyists, what endless confusion would have followed at once; what breaking up, and putting together, and taking apart again; what departing and returning; what marrying and divorcing; what confusion in trade, in education, in government, in all the relations and actions and language of life. However excellent be the private life of the modern who has consented to this philosophy; (a philosophy which once revealed itself only to minds of exalted genius, and to them, only after years of profound inquiry and intense application to the object, in the shades of the Academy;) however extensive be his information, and however disciplined his powers under the teaching of the principles which he practically abjures, still the application of his theories to the real world of things, to which they have no constitu-

tional adaptation, tends only to idleness, disappointment and infidelity. In sober language, it is the substitution of fancies for facts, and the demands of unlicensed wishes for the authority of legitimate induction.

On the other hand true science, like true religion, is the right use of what God has given us to know. It begins with what only is real and known; it fixes a long and searching gaze upon it, states it clearly, discovers its relations and conditions, and the legitimate uses for which experience, and nothing but experience, proves that it was given. Science is formed, not created. Like the temples of old Greece, it is a thing of solidity and beauty, embracing the materials which compose it in their exact relations and necessary dependencies, all of which are adjusted after the suggestions of a ripened taste, and compacted by the generalizing power of the artisan mind. It is nothing but full, out-speaking truth. Science is but doing truthfully what is the instinct of every human mind to try to do: the victory of trial and time and genius over a child's rude picture-chalkings and paper-buildings; it is the savage's hut, first formed of living saplings withed together at the top, now grown into the lofty and pointed arch, the Gothic colligated pillar, with branches and leaves and flowers carved in enduring stone. A feeble illustration, this, of the well formed and living Christian soul, when its blind religious impulses have been met by the facts and commandments, the truths and appliances of the Christian system; when the God-made world of Christian fact, like the world of external nature or the world of mind, is taken as simple fact, as that which is true and must be true; when the creating spirit, working through all the doctrines of truth, and addressing them to every faculty of man's spiritual being, forms the co-working soul into a glorious temple for his own abode.

3. Another fundamental condition of knowledge must here receive a separate notice, not only for the sake of the analogy we seek, but also in order to guard against any misinterpretation of the term *idea*, which has just been employed. It is therefore, in the third place, to be observed, that nothing is better settled in philosophy than that man possesses certain fundamental ideas, which are not derived from observation, but which improve their

own conditions upon knowledge and upon the use of knowledge, which are as necessary to the very being of science, to the first inference it ventures and to the humblest truth it tells, as the completest array of facts that ever passed under the eye of a Newton or of a Locke. The self-born, but full formed idea of likeness governs in classification, of cause in mechanics, of space in geometry, of life in physiology, of right and wrong in ethics and religion. It may not be that philosophy has truly numbered them, or has appropriately named them; but she has identified them as certainly as chemistry, the most exact of all the sciences, has identified any of the elementary substances. Yea, to our convictions far more so. For in some form of statement, the language of every man and of every child confesses them, and consciousness denies the possibility of any further analysis. The statements of their existence is their completest demonstration; and we are now permitted to record the fact that they have taken their place in the body of well ascertained and received knowledge.*

But it will be perceived that nothing can be more unlike the existing fundamental idea, governing in all true experiments by virtue of its own activity and just inference, than those impressions which we call ideas, which are made upon the mind by things without it, or those forms into which the imagination constructs the recollections of impressions and sensations, and to which we give the same name. Yet these are the ideas which rule in all the narrow empiricism of the day, and are there clothed with the attributes of inspiration.

The true philosophical idea has a distinct and an appropriate office. It springs up within, to meet the world that comes to it from without, whether permanent relations or successive occurrences be the objects of attention. It enters the crowded and seemingly confused theatre of things, to unite itself, in the formation of true knowledge,

* The statement of the proposition given above, is supposed to express, with sufficient faithfulness, the fundamental doctrine on which Whewell's Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences rests, which doctrine is there presented in the most expanded statement and illustration which our language at present affords. The proof of the doctrine of innate ideas is much older; but hitherto they have been regarded more as curiosities to be ranged in the metaphysician's cabinet, than as powerful agents which are always employed in the discovery and right application of scientific knowledge.

with every apprehension which the mind forms, whether of inert matter, living bodies, or mental states, and to tell to each thing or being its family relations and duties. It utters no oracles. It breathes no inspiration. It cannot speak words of determinate meaning even to the conscious soul which gives it birth, except to report what it has found. And then its voice is loud and significant only in proportion to the range and accuracy of its observation. It is therefore no substitute for close observation, hard thinking and rigid induction. It is not a divinity to utter the words of all true wisdom in the soul's secret chambers, but a divinity to inspire men to compare and to classify, to plod on and to try, for the ends of knowledge and the greatest good. Like Noah's dove, it goes not out to cut curious circles against the sky, but to find the solid ground below and to rest upon it.

How widely different is the doctrine of ideas which is now striving to rule in the philosophy of man, of government, of social order and of religion. Here the true order of progress in knowledge is despised. The reason is deaf to the teachings of experience. It turns with distaste from what merely has been and now is, from the story and lessons of the past, and from the wide and scientific view which history gives of the connections between objects and events, and ventures every thing for the sake of the pseudo-Platonic idea. The conception, which no analysis can resolve and no facts can justify, is exalted to the highest seat of authority, and made to rule in every department of human interest. Something is seen with the spiritual eye, and immediately the seer utters eternal truth. But the world has grown so old and so restless, that it will not listen to any thing which cannot be tried and realised. The rapt prophet therefore turns architect, and comes down to the dust and level of common things. He demolishes and constructs again, and fairly promises to be useful. But he is guarded at all points against fact and evidence. The lights of history go out before the brightness of the mind's own inspiration. In the intensity of its heat, all the attested facts of Christianity, the doctrine and the works of Christ, the resurrection of the body and the future life, are fused into spiritual essences, to be moulded anew and brought together again in the temple of this wondrous philosophy.

It would seem that Paul might have had these teachers in his eye, when he said, "if any man think himself to be a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord : but if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant." When this form of the ideal philosophy enters the domain of Christianity, its proudest boast is that it clothes every true and beautiful thing there with an instantly regenerating power over the sensitive mind of the disciple. But of all kinds of insensibility, that which it creates and leaves behind it, is the hardest. I have known a youth softened by the simple story of Abel's blameless life and most unhappy death, who had no heart to feel either sympathy or justice at the recital of the tragedy of the ninth hour. Yet he has been reached and humbled by the doctrine of the cross. I have known a woman whose eyes would moisten over some fictitious story of human suffering, whose bosom would heave convulsively through all a drama's scenes, whose heart was yet as cold and as hard towards the dying Jesus, as were the proud daughters of Jerusalem, who kept high feast with dance and song in their palaces, whilst the Redeemer of the world was agonizing without the gate. Yet even she has lived to bathe the Saviour's feet with tears and to wipe them with the hair of her head. But the proud scorn of the transcendental sceptic, I have never seen exchanged for faith's quiet look, and pure devotion's glow.

The distinction which I have wished to point out between the false and the fundamental idea in the pursuits after knowledge and in the right employment of our acquisitions, is, as I have already remarked, one of the established doctrines of the true philosophy of mind. The mind has the faculty, under certain conditions, of forming necessary and universal conceptions, of perceiving absolute truths, and of passing absolute judgments. Supply the conditions, that is, present facts, open wide the field of experiment, and faithfully present its treasures, and the faculty enters into exercise, perceives truth and passes judgment.

In addressing the facts of Christianity to man's *religious idea*, (if from a too barren vocabulary, I may select the word,) is found the great work of the Christian preacher. Every thing which Christianity has to furnish

him, all its sources of illustration, all its array of external and of internal evidence, its poetry and narrative, its prophecy and commandment, its doctrine and promise, are to be employed with wise reference to the indestructible idea of religious obligation. Christianity could not be true to man, nay, it could not be his religion, if there were nothing in him which could pronounce "the law holy, and the commandment holy and just and good." It is this quality of adaptation, reigning throughout the system, which is one distinguishing feature of our holy religion, and which more than intimates that the Redeemer is also the Creator.

It matters little by what name the idea of obligation is called, whether we make it a *sense* with Hutchinson, or a *king* with Butler, provided, only, that we do not philosophise upon the basis of the illustrating figure, instead of the living facts, and do not infer that right and wrong are the impressions of an external quality upon the sensorium. So to present the divine word that the soul, aroused and met at all points of sensibility by the appropriate facts of Christianity, shall superinduce its own idea of obligation upon the commandment, is the high aim of the Christian system in the hands of its expounder. There are other conditions, it is true: the submission of the sinner, and the work of the Holy Ghost; but neither the sinner's work nor the Spirit's work is the preacher's work. We at present are concerned only with the latter.

For this, all his previous acquisitions are only preparatory. For this he traces the chain of events up to the Christian era. From the testimony of writings, whose authenticity is fairly proven, he learns their inspiration, and bows with reverence before the Great Teacher, Prophet and King. From this point, he compares and classifies the sentiments of Christianity, and to the rich evidence for its truth, already furnished, now adds that of the "analogy of religion, natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature." In his further preparation, the whole body of science and literature lends its aid. History gives him the form and trial of all religions and of all modifications of the true religion. Physical science enlarges the range of his thoughts; and the science of man confirms the anthropology of the Scriptures. In the interpretation of the sacred text, the whole body of classi-

cal and oriental literature pays a rich, a cheerful, and an overwhelming tribute at his feet. It is for the work of the ministry that the whole man is educated. For this discipline sharpens his perceptions, strengthens his judgment, purifies his heart and his taste, and stores his mind with the richest classical, scientific, and scriptural allusion. He is now to go forth to his work. Again I ask,—may he, and shall he, be a scientific worker in it?

If you say that there are high religious motives which ought to govern, I grant all you say. But may I not ask whether the instances, which we behold all around us, of the steady and successful tasking of the mind solely for the ends of worldly science, ought not to shame the laggard pace at which we follow, in studying the noblest of all the sciences, and in practising our high art? If in teaching others we say, "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light," shall we not teach ourselves, also? There is before us the realm of pure and lofty truth; there are ends, worthy of an angel's trial. Were there nothing in the obligations we have already assumed to incite us, were there nothing in the imminent danger of sinful men, were there nothing in the commandment of Christ, and nothing in the promise of divine aid, even then there would be enough left to preserve the work of the ministry from degenerating into the little artifices of a contemptible profession. Every age has its peculiar dangers for the ministry, and here at present may be ours. It has been more than intimated, that, with all our superior facilities in books and colleges and theological seminaries, the race of intellectual giants is dying out of the land; that the world are looking in vain for the successors of the men, who, foremost in learning and talent, were foremost in the control of the manners and spirit and belief of their age; that even now it is not so much the strengthening of the current of worldliness and of infidelity which we have to deplore, as the want of the men to stem and to turn it. We need, brethren, to see what has been done in other departments of labor, and what has been done in our own, that we may wisely magnify our office. When Hooker first gave to England the science of law, and reared it only as a bulwark of defence before his Church Polity; when for the ends of religion, Butler demonstrated the moral con-

stitution of man, which Edwards linked with iron bands to the sternest doctrines of Christianity, the world was confounded at discovering to what uses Christianity can be put, and what its truths and spirit can do for the human intellect. And it should be remembered that, in most instances, these men were not writers merely, but preachers and pastors, men who, like Edwards, lived to see their self-sacrificing labors, and their clear and adjusted doctrines, owned of the Spirit of all truth.

4. There is still another point of analogy, which easily suggests itself, but which, for its obviousness, need not be dwelt upon: the moral and intellectual qualities which each pursuit demands. Something which might here be said, has already been anticipated, but more remains.

In the ardent and enthusiastic pursuit after truth, which science always demands, in the steady adherence to the path chosen, in the quickness of perception, in the toil of experiment, in the moral hardihood which sacrifices theory to evidence, in the joy of discovery, in the patience which long pursues, in the faith and meekness which believe, in the benevolence which promises, and in the sympathy with kindred minds, religion equals, but far more than equals the demands of human learning.

I turn, in closing this address, to the wide, the immeasurably wide *differences* in the nature of the employments we have been regarding. And here I may well recall the remark of Lord Bacon, that the highest work of mind is not the discovery of resemblances, but of fundamental differences. As, however, we leave the field of analogies, we find the other and highest work of genius made ready to our hand. A Teacher sent from God is before us, whose voice is the voice of authority and not the voice of man. We are to receive what he has spoken; we are to become what he has commanded. "Lo!" he says, "I have told you." Whatever likeness the mode of acquiring and using other truth may have to the subjective Christian piety, there is a point beyond which the likeness disappears. No teacher, sent from God, has cleared up the problems of nature, and fixed on an immutable basis the sciences of government, of education, of physics and of mind. But One has come to us, whose life of holy virtues is our example, whose death is our redemption, whose commandment is our law. Even

through the veil of his humanity there gleamed, at times, the light of the Deity; and when at length the veil fell, and the Mentor of the world stood the revealed God, glowing with all the light of the mount of transfiguration, before he left the earth and passed with joying angels into heaven, he left on long record this blessed commandment: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." • Yes, blessed Saviour, we believe in *Thee*. Before the light of thy countenance, the lights of all human wisdom go out in darkness! Before the authority of thy teachings and requirement, the inductions of reason and the testimony of experience are but the babblings of childhood!

Brethren! In the vast concerns of the immortal soul, nothing is to be risked for a theory; every thing is to be risked for Jesus Christ.

ARTICLE VI.

HEBREW STUDY IN ENGLAND DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THE interest taken in the study of Hebrew during the reign of Elizabeth, was not at all repressed by the accession of James I to the English throne. That monarch, who had, when residing in Scotland, sought to obtain the services of Broughton, Cartwright and others as Hebrew professors there, and who himself made some pretensions to an acquaintance with the original language of the Old Testament, extended his patronage to this branch of literature, and not without good effect. In his address to the University of Oxford, he earnestly recommended the study of the "sacred text."

As might therefore be expected, Hebrew was at this time assiduously cultivated at Cambridge under Livlie and Spalding, and privately under Matthias Pasoz, son of the Greek lexicographer of that name, and at Oxford under Harding and Kilby. In this reign it does not appear that the public Hebrew lectures of the Universities were for any length of time unread, as was the case in the

preceding reign, as we learn from Fulman's MSS. viii. 183, where we find it stated, that after the lecture at Oxford had been long neglected, arising from the protracted illness of the Hebrew professor, the vice-chancellor and University, at the recommendation of the chancellor, engaged the services of the celebrated Hooker. At this time, too, this language was taught at some schools. Lightfoot learned it at school, although he afterwards neglected it while a student at Cambridge, probably because at Christ's College, to which he belonged, Hebrew was then but little followed, compared with the attention paid to it at Trinity,* etc.

From what has already been said respecting the erudition of Elizabeth's time, it will not surprise us that no difficulty was found in procuring an adequate number of oriental scholars for our present version of the Bible, which was determined on in the first year of James's reign. The twenty-five translators of the Old Testament were eminent Hebraicians. Among them were six who, either at the time or subsequently, were professors of Hebrew at Cambridge or Oxford. Two other translations of the Bible from the original were, about this time, in progress, although never published. The one was by archbishop Usher's brother, the other by Jessey and Row.

During this reign, Hebrew printing in England appears to have been confined to a privileged party in London. No such printing had as yet been executed at either of the Universities. There was indeed but little need for it. The demand was, comparatively speaking, small. The Hebrew Bibles of Plantin and Stephens were those generally in use, together with the Cologne, Leyden and Geneva editions of the grammars of Bellarmine and Cevalerius, and the Leyden, Paris, Antwerp and Basle editions of the Lexicons of Pagninus, Munster and Forster. Most of these works were readily obtained not only of London booksellers, but even in many country towns, as is evident from numerous sources.

The study under review advanced rapidly during the reign of James's unfortunate son. In the promotion of

* In the election for the Regius professorship of Hebrew at Cambridge, preference always was and is given (*cæteris paribus*) to Fellows of Trinity College. Thus, all the eight professors of Hebrew in the eighteenth century were of that College.

oriental learning, the all-powerful Laud materially aided. He urged his sovereign to collect oriental manuscripts—in which he also spent large sums, munificently befriended the celebrated Hebrew professor and Arabic scholar, Pococke, and others, established an Arabic professorship at Oxford, and gave to that University 1276 valuable manuscripts in Hebrew, Arabic, etc. To him was dedicated Viccar's "*Decapla in Psalmos*," containing some of the first specimens of Syriac and Arabic printing executed in England. This it is but just to say, although in every other respect, "we," to use the language of Macauley, "entertain" for the archbishop "a more unmitigated contempt than for any other character in our history."

Towards the close of this reign, Christian Ravis taught Hebrew in London House. This Berlin scholar was assisted and patronized by archbishop Usher. The Hon. R. Boyle, referring to the same period, says:—"After I had almost learned by rote an Hebrew grammar, to improve myself in Scripture criticism, I, not over cheaply, purchased divers private conferences with one of their skilfullest doctors; of whom I received few lessons, that cost me not twenty miles' riding, at a time when I was in physic and my health very unsettled."* From Burnet we learn that in Scotland at this time a knowledge of Hebrew was required of all who sought admission into orders in the Presbyterian church.†

It might, at first view, be supposed that the anarchy caused by the struggle between the king and the parliament, and which, after the death of Charles, continued till the "crowning mercy" of Worcester, would have exerted a baleful influence on Hebrew study. Professor Lee asserts that this was the case. His words are,—"*The unhappy events which took place in the days of the first Charles, and continued for some time after to harass the country, had the effect of bringing the study of the Bible into disrepute.*" This, however, was not the case. The enlightened and determined advocacy of civil and religious liberty always stimulates to mental exertion and intellectual greatness. That advocacy, being in fact the utterance of awakened powers—the indignant remon-

* Boyle's MS.

† History of his own times, ed. of 1734, i, 35, ii, 674.

strance of spirits conscious of their destiny and their native right, will, the more earnestly and authoritatively it is maintained, give birth to loftier desires and more vigorous efforts. Hence it is that English oriental and Biblical scholarship flourished in its palmiest state during the Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and a few subsequent years.

Amid the very din of strife, some of the most erudite works of Pococke, Lightfoot, Selden, Usher and others first saw the light. Between the battles of Naseby and Dunbar, two editions (the first and the second) of Leigh's *Critica Sacra*—the best Hebrew-English Lexicon of the age, appeared. During the same period, the first Hebrew Grammar ever printed at Cambridge, and the first Hebrew Lexicon published in London, were issued. The only ordinance ever framed in England, requiring a knowledge of Hebrew on the part of all candidates for the ministry, was then passed. "It was likewise," says Leigh, in his Preface to the *Critica Sacra*, addressed to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, "a worthy task for our Parliament worthies, assisted with a Synod of judicious Divines, both to order the speedy publishing of excellent notes and animadversions upon the whole Bible, and also to provide (in the Directory for Ordination of Ministers) that all such as shall hereafter undertake the holy function of the ministry, shall first be examined touching their skill in the original tongues." In the very year of Charles's death, the English booksellers offered to purchase six hundred copies of Le Jay's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* in ten folio volumes. One year after the battle of Worcester, proposals were issued for the publication of Walton's celebrated *Polyglott*—the first book ever published in England by subscription. The first volume of this great work appeared in 1654, the last in 1657.* Significant and all-important facts these!

At this period, in the Universities, according to Anthony

* The following eulogium on this work is taken from an oration of Lightfoot's in 1665, as vice-chancellor of Cambridge University:—"Opus æternæ famæ, monumentum memorabile in sempiterna sæcula futurum, summæ eruditionis, zeli, et in Deo bonarum literarum protectore fiduciæ cleri Anglicani jam tum summi periclinantis Macti estote, viri venerandi et doctissimi, qui in opere tam magnanimo desudatis. Pergite quod facitis trophæa vobis erigere, patriæque; et perlegant ope vestra omnes gentes sacra Biblia suis linguis; atque iisdem linguis, eadem ope predicentur fama eruditionis et literatura gentis Anglicanæ."

a Wood, whose testimony is truly in this instance impartial, "education and discipline were more severe than after, when scholars were given more to liberty and frivolous studies." At Oxford, the celebrated oriental scholars Pococke, Gale, Harris, Langbaine, Clarke, Hyde and Bernard then resided, while Marsh, Huntingdon, Cumberland, Cawton and others, celebrated in after years for their erudition, were enjoying the privileges of the University. "Learning," says Bishop Burnet, "was then high at Oxford; chiefly the study of the oriental tongues, which was much raised by the Polyglott Bible then set forth." Nor were these pursuits less zealously followed at Cambridge, patronized as they were by Lightfoot, Wheelock and others. Numerous teachers of Hebrew, too, were engaged in instruction in various parts of the kingdom. Roger Williams was for some time thus employed in London.

At no time, either previously or subsequently, was English philosophy held in such repute as at this period. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards England. The most learned men on the continent, such as Alting, Bochart, Hottinger, Golius and Ludolf eagerly sought correspondence with its scholars, whom they regarded as second to none, and in many instances begged to be led by their direction. Foreigners from all parts repaired thither, attracted by the fame of Pococke, Lightfoot, Gataker and Usher.* Hottinger writing to Pococke by F. Mieke, son of the vice-chancellor of the Elector Palatine, who had visited the Universities of Germany, tells him that the young scholar was on his way to England, "*abstrusioris literaturæ sedem.*" Le Grange le Capellain speaks of one as going to the same country to pursue his

*The celebrated Locke thus writes of Pococke: "His name, which was in great esteem beyond sea, and that deservedly, drew on him visits from all foreigners of learning, who came to Oxford to see that University." "There are many," says J. H. Otho, addressing Lightfoot, "who have not enjoyed the privilege of making your acquaintance, who yet among other nations have heard of your fame, and who, after the perusal of your admirable works, have entertained for you the utmost veneration." Clarke, in his life of Gataker, speaks of "foreigners that sojourned with him, and were as ambitious of being entertained by him as if they had been admitted into a University." "His house," he says in another place, "was a private seminary for both Englishmen and foreigners, who resorted to him, lodged at his house, and received instruction from him." The celebrated Vossius in speaking of Usher, says:—"I cannot speak any thing so high of him, but his worth doth surpass it." And Paulus Testardus Blesensis styles him "the greatest honor of the church and age."

oriental studies, "*tanquam ad fontem unde felicius et uberius hauriri possit.*" The celebrated critic Otho, who studied some time at Oxford, eulogizes Pococke, Lightfoot and Guise in the highest terms, and acknowledges the great value of their advice and instruction. Indeed he professes his inability sufficiently to praise them. "What other land," says Surenhusius, having in view the period under consideration, "is more abundant in men born to oriental studies than England?"

The productions of these English Hebraicians were eagerly sought on the continent, frequently translated, and more highly esteemed than in England. The most celebrated continental scholars frequently dedicated their productions to these eminent men. Thus Spanheim, Ludovicus de Dieu and Morus dedicated works to archbishop Usher, and Sixtinus Amama to Langton and Prideaux.

The direct efforts of English scholars were not confined to their native land. Dr. Marsh, an intimate friend of Pococke's, and provost of Dublin University, says with reference solely to Ireland:—"We have not many that can judge of the original; but I hope to breed up good store that way, since we have an Hebrew professor's place lately settled in the college, to which lecture I make all the Bachelors of Arts attend, and be examined thrice every week; and they are likewise to be publicly examined in Hebrew before they can take their degree of Master of Arts, which I sometimes do myself."

To America, also, English students carried a knowledge of the Hebrew language. The studies of Harvard College at its origin, embraced Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac. From the book entitled, "*New England's First Fruits,*" published in London, 1643, the following extract is taken:—"The fifth day reads Hebrew and the Eastern tongues. Grammar to the first year, houre the 8th. To the second, Chaldee, at the 9th houre. To the third, Syriac, at the 10th houre. Afternoon. The first year's practice in the Bible at the 2nd houre. The second, in Ezra and Daniel at the 3rd houre." From Neal we learn that at the Commencement of the same college, one of the candidates was required to pronounce an oration in Latin, Greek or Hebrew.

Such then was the state of Hebrew learning in Eng-

land till the death of Cromwell. "Then came those days, never to be recalled without a blush—the days of servitude without loyalty, and sensuality without love, of dwarfish talents and gigantic vices, the paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds, the golden age of the coward, the bigot and the slave." Amid such a state of things, the study under consideration of course declined, though somewhat gradually, as might be expected from the great attention hitherto paid to it.

Nine years after the Restoration, Castell's *Heptaglott Lexicon* made its appearance. It had been begun in 1657. At this work Castell labored for seventeen years, and maintained for that space of time at his own cost, seven Englishmen and seven foreigners, as transcribers. These all died before the work was finished. After having spent his own fortune, this indefatigable scholar was obliged to apply to Charles II for assistance, "that a prison might not be the reward of so many labors and such an outlay."* The king, and twenty-nine English and Irish bishops warmly solicited pecuniary aid for him, but without success. The nation had become impoverished and frivolous, and, more than all, oriental studies were on the decline. Folly was fashionable.

Previous to this, Bee's *Critici Sacri*, in nine folio volumes, had been published, and subsequently, Poole's *Synopsis*, in five volumes folio. Thus in about twenty years, "works printed in Hebrew, forming twenty-two vast folio volumes, were begun and finished in London by the industry and at the expense of a few English divines and noblemen." What other city can boast of the publication of such works in so short a period?

The Act of Uniformity, passed 1662, ejected very many ministers of the gospel from their pulpits. Of these, nearly one hundred are known to have been excellent and indeed profound Hebrew scholars. This rigorous usage, together with the levity of the times, the reaction

* In his *Epistle Dedicatory*, Castell gives the following account of his astonishing labors:—"I considered that day as idle and dissatisfactory, in which I did not toil sixteen or eighteen hours, either at the *Polyglott* or *Lexicon*." Who can read the following passage without a sigh:—"I had once," says he, "companions in my undertaking, partners in my toil; but some of them are now no more, and others have left me, alarmed at the greatness of the undertaking. I am now, therefore, left alone, without transcriber or corrector, far advanced in years, with my patrimony exhausted, my bodily and mental strength impaired, and my eyesight almost gone."

of the somewhat austere and forcibly imposed religion of the Commonwealth, brought oriental and especially Biblical studies into disrepute. Castell's Arabic lectures, at first listened to with great applause, were soon so much neglected that he put over the school gates the following inscription:—"Arabicae linguæ prælector cras ibit in desertum." Dr. Greaves, writing from Fulham, says of oriental studies:—"in these parts, for aught I observe, they are not much followed or regarded, and receive small encouragement from those who, I thought, would have been fautors and promoters of them." Nor does this decline appear to have been wholly confined to England. Professor Harder of Holland, successor to F. Golius, could not publish a work of his, "because oriental learning decays there, and books of that nature will turn to no advantage."

This inattention to Hebrew study, thus noticed as commencing, became more and more apparent. Towards the close of James the second's reign, Bishop Kidder uses the following language:—"The study of the Hebrew language hath, (I know not by what means,) been too much laid aside, and we have by this neglect been less able to convince the Jews. 'Tis certain that this study hath not only been neglected, but ridiculed also. The Jews are well pleased with our neglect of these studies: and those of them that are now in England, have been observed of late years, when a learned Christian hath died, and his books have been exposed to sale, to buy the whole collection of Jewish books. I knew a very choice collection or two of late, thus unhappily disposed of." In another place the learned bishop thus writes:—"The time hath been, even in the last age, that our kingdom hath been furnished with men as eminent this way, as any that ever appeared in the world; men that understood the Jewish learning incomparably better than the most learned of the Jews themselves. But these men are dead, and those studies have been too much neglected, and by too many despised also."

In the Universities especially, this decline in Hebrew learning became increasingly evident. Their present condition in this respect, as given by Professor Lee, himself Regius Professor of Hebrew in Cambridge University, has been their state for many, many years. It is

thus described:—"Not only do the statutes of our colleges generally provide, that their societies should cultivate theology, but in many instances a knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures is made necessary for the admission of their Fellows; and, in others, Hebrew lectureships have actually been established, which have unhappily degenerated into sinecures. The statutes of the Universities, too, require that candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity shall study the original Scriptures; and to meet this, Hebrew and Arabic professorships have been established, which have been either converted into sinecures, or have been almost entirely neglected." In another work, the same admirable scholar says, alluding to Walton, Castell, etc.: "After their day, indeed, Biblical and oriental literature greatly declined in this country. The unhappy events which took place in the days of the first Charles, and continued some time after to harass the country, had the effect of bringing the study of the Bible into disrepute: which, aided by the ribaldry of a vicious court, succeeded in completing the lamentable declension in this literature just now noticed. This, as it was likely, influenced our seats of learning. Professorships consequently became sinecures; and the only branches of learning cultivated, were those which were exclusively secular."

Surveying the whole period over which we have now glanced, a few things strike us as worthy of remark.

Hebrew printing was, as we have seen, confined by a patent to but one party in London during the reign of James I. It was not till some few years after this, that it was executed at either of the Universities. In 1638, we find W. Turner printing Hebrew at Oxford. A Hebrew press founded at the charge of the University, was not, however, in operation till the year 1655. The first work printed at it was Pococke's *Porta Mosis*. Indeed these letters, Dr. Twells tells us in his life of Pococke, were procured at the charge of the University, upon the assurance which Dr. Langbaine gave, "that something of Mr. Pococke's should be speedily printed with them." Before that time, many works had been printed at Cambridge in that language.

Even then, oriental printing was by patent confined to London, Cambridge and Oxford. In May 1636, an act

was passed purporting to give encouragement to learning. It was to the following effect:—"That whereas in his Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and in his city of London, divers books, *not elsewhere printed*, have been reprinted in the dominions of foreign princes . . . the king . . . doth charge and command, that no person whatsoever shall import into the realm of England or Ireland, or dominion of Wales, out of the dominions of any foreign prince, or shall offer to put to sale any foreign edition, or any books or copies, either in Latin or Greek, or in the *Hebrew, Chaldea, Syriac and Arabic tongues*; the first edition of publishing whereof, hath been first come out of any press or house of printing in the *said universities*, or out of the *city of London*." Rushworth p. ii. 322. Even as late as the seventh March, 1642, the printers of London presented to the Committee of the House a petition "for a better regulating of the art of printing, and the calling in of four several patents, which they conceived to be monopolies." The third of these was for printing books in *Hebrew*, Greek and Latin.

No sooner were the restrictions removed, than many engaged in this line of printing. From that period till the close of the century, the following printers, and probably others, were furnished with Hebrew type, viz: J. Junius and Ball, R. Cotes, Allestry, J. Dawks, S. Roycroft, A. Miller, R. Daniel, M. Flesher, M. Simonds, Bee, A. Mathews, J. Haviland and E. Millington of London, and Field, Hayes, Turner, etc. of Cambridge and Oxford. Most of these were contemporaries. At the beginning of this period, we learn from Sixtinus Amama, that in the celebrated Dutch University of Franeker only one printer possessed Hebrew type. This was the more surprising, since, by the efforts of that professor and Drusius, many synods had refused to admit candidates to the ministry unless they well understood Hebrew.

At first the type in use, which was obtained from the continent, was extremely inelegant. Soon, however, the illustrious Hebraicians of England effected a great change for the better,* as may be seen by comparing the He-

* Scholarship always effects this more or less with every language. Pococke was very particular about Arabic type. In a letter of his to Dr. Langbaine, he expresses his dislike to an Arabic character, and his desire that his friend would procure for him from London a new punchion and matrix. From Guigne's No-

brew type in Gataker's "Lots," Godwin's "Moses and Aaron," "Fulke on the Rhemish Testament," and such-like works, with the university edition of Lightfoot and Pococke, and the London Polyglott. Matrices were readily cut in London under the direction of the best scholars.* Dr. Walton accounts for some delay in the publication of the Polyglott, by saying that "the Hebrew types were mending," having been pronounced by Pococke, in need of alteration. Such was the esteem in which the oriental printing of England was at this time held, that many continental authors sent their manuscripts to London to be published. Thus Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* was first printed by Allestry with the very types used in the Polyglott—an edition "*satis splendide*," says Dora.

A fondness for Hebrew study was not, during this century, confined to ministers of the gospel. Many in high rank were distinguished for their oriental erudition. The earl of Lauderdale, Lord Harley, Lord Cambden, the Hon. R. Boyle, the Hon. O. Bridgman, Sir W. Maurice, Sir T. Borogrove, Sir R. Cotton, Sir Norton Knatchbull and others, were good Hebraicians. "We owe," says the celebrated Surenhusius, adverting to oriental pursuits, and especially to Hebrew, "very much to the nobles of England."

It has been asserted by many authors that Hebrew learning was, during the period under consideration, ostentatiously exhibited in the pulpit, little to the edification of the hearers. True it is that Burnet in his *Lives*, speaks of preaching that "was over wise with pedantry . . . full of many sayings of different languages;" and in his *History of his own Times*, tells us about Gunning of Ely, whose sermons were full of Hebrew and Greek, to the great delight of certain courtly ladies, who went to

tices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, we learn that in 1700 the University of Cambridge applied to the king of France for a cast of Stephens' Greek type. The celebrated printers, the Aldine family, Stephens, Plautin and others were scholars. The oriental and Greek typography of Germany would never have been so elegant as it is, had it not been for German learning.

* From Rushworth, it appears that by a decree of the Star Chamber, dated July 11th, 1637, "four founders of letters for printing were allowed, and no more." The same decree limits the number of printers to twenty, and of presses to each printer to three at most. The pillory and the lash were the penalties affixed to the infraction of this ordinance! The approach of times more favorable to liberty, of course removed this disgraceful and tyrannical restriction.

hear him preach, according to Charles II, because they did not understand him. This, however, was not the case with the really learned men of the day. Usher used in his sermons great plainness of speech. Who, on reading Leighton's Commentary on Peter, would suppose him to have been a good Hebrew scholar? Yet such was the case. "Our parson," said a poor country-man, "is one Mr. Pococke, a plain, honest man; but, master, he is no Latiner." And yet this man was the glory of his age. Bishop Beveridge, although a profoundly learned oriental scholar, has left behind him works, the most simple and thoroughly Saxon of any in our language, with the exception of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. True learning differs widely from pedantry. The one is modest from what it does not know, the other proud from what it fancies it has acquired.

Having rapidly glanced over the efforts made by English Hebrew scholars, and the celebrity which they in consequence enjoyed throughout the learned world, we are induced to inquire into the opinion to be entertained of their acquirements in the present enlightened age.

Let us turn to Pococke. Who can read his commentaries, and his valuable notes to the *Porta Mosis*, without being struck with the depth of his erudition? In an age of almost slavish dependence on Jewish tradition, this eminent scholar declared that he placed little reliance on Talmudical and Cabbalistic writings, "unless backed by better authority, or when they make for confessing some truth against themselves." At the same time it must be allowed that he inserted in his works far too much Rabbinic trash. He advocated the study of the cognate dialects in connection with the Hebrew, and frequently made good use of them in explaining the meaning of words. His dislike to have recourse to various readings, and his skill in reconciling difficult passages, remind us of modern German scholarship. The following is a singular instance of Pococke's acuteness. He pronounced the Hamyaritic language, from the few words that came to his knowledge, to have a much nearer agreement with the Hebrew and Syriac, than with the dialect of the Korashites. This conjecture has been remarkably borne out by the discoveries of Wellsted, Roediger and others. In a paper on the Hamyaritic Inscriptions in Southern Arabia,

published in the Quarterly Register of the American Education Society, the following result is stated. "The slight acquaintance with the ancient language which we have already obtained by means of the inscriptions, is sufficient to show us that it was a Shemitish dialect, approaching nearer than the northern Arabic to the *Hebrew*, and probably to the *Aramaic*."

Cartwright and Ainsworth have in their respective works manifested great skill and much correct criticism. To the former, Rosenmüller is greatly indebted. The latter was an admirable adept in unfolding the *usus loquendi* of the original. Some of his conjectures are singularly happy, and accord most strikingly with the latest results of German criticism. We will refer to a few which he makes with reference to the titles of the Psalms. Ainsworth explains the *al-alamoth* of Psalm 46, thus,—“Virgin tunes, having high and shrill voices.” This is the opinion of Gesenius, Tholuck and Hengstenberg, who appear to give to Gousset the merit of this explanation. The epithet *Maschil*, which is found in the title of thirteen Psalms, Ainsworth translates by “an instructing Psalm.” Hengstenberg says: “The most obvious explanation of this term is that of *Instruction*,—a didactic poem;” with this Tholuck also agrees. Our author renders Higgsion, Ps. 9: 16, “meditation;”—“meaning that this is a prayer of deep meditation, worthy to be well minded, and spoken or sung with earnest consideration afterwards”—the opinion, too, of Tholuck and Hengstenberg. The expression *al-hasshehinith*, Ainsworth renders, “upon the eighth, meaning the eighth tune, which was grave, as that which we call the bass.” So Gesenius, Tholuck and Hengstenberg.

It were needless to speak of Selden, Usher and Lightfoot. Their works are too well known to need our recommendation, and their scholarship is too evident to require pointing out. We must, however, trespass on the patience of our readers by referring to the youthful yet profoundly erudite William Guise, whose notes on many portions of the Mishna are preëminently valuable, and of Thomas Gataker. John Henry Otho speaks of him and Bernhard, of John's College, Oxford, as being men of astonishing erudition, in whom all oriental literature dwelt, “especially,” says he, “in W. Guise, even to a miracle.” He died at the age of twenty-four, la-

mented but not lost. Of Gataker it may be said, that in the age in which he lived few were his equals, none his superiors. His extreme modesty adorned his profound attainments. His correct and well-matured judgment kept him free from many of the errors of his times. His intelligent and heart-felt piety directed his views, increased his influence, and shed a glory on his death.

The opinion of modern scholars in the matter before us, is, as will doubtless be allowed by all, of great weight. What is it?

It needs not much acquaintance with the philological works of continental critics and of those speaking our own language, to see that they very frequently quote from English Hebraicists of the seventeenth century. Let any one consult Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, de Wette's *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung*, u. s. w., Gesenius' *Geschichte der Hebr. Sprache*, and many other standard works, and he will meet with numerous references to the productions of Pococke, Walton, Usher and others.

Nor indeed are these learned modern scholars slow to acknowledge their indebtedness to the eminent men referred to, and to speak of them in terms of high approbation. Thus Tholuck makes mention of "the truly learned Spencer," declares that "peculiar notice is due to the *Horæ Hebraicæ Talmudicæ* of Lightfoot," and affirms that "the best of the older commentators on the Minor Prophets, is that of Pococke," which he pronounces to be "thorough and profound." Hengstenberg asserts that Pococke's commentaries exhibit "diligence in the collection of exegetical materials, and a mode of explanation in general natural." Michaelis, Hoffmann and Delitzsch speak in high terms of Castell. Gesenius styles Brian Walton's *Prolegomena*, "very learned disquisitions." Ernesti, speaking of Gataker, declares that he excels in learning all the writers on the Hebraisms of the New Testament. He also praises Cartwright, as being one of the most learned authors who have sought to illustrate the New Testament from Hebrew sources. Winer declares that Gataker wrote "learnedly." Of the same illustrious men Professor Lee says: "In our Walton, Castell, Pococke, and others of the same period, we had, indeed, orientalists of the first celebrity,—men who, by the efforts of their mighty minds and almost incredible labors,

left behind them monuments of industry and learning never to be excelled."

It is by no means, however, asserted that these scholars were, as such, perfect. Far otherwise. Although in advance of their age, they were behind ours. There is a heaviness about their style, and a tedious enumeration and refutation of different opinions in their commentaries, far from being either agreeable or profitable. "It was not perceived in their day, that Rabbinism was only another name for ignorance and hatred to Christian truth; and that they had in their own hands means of illustrating Holy Writ, infinitely superior to those of that wretched school, and which had been allowed to make such large inroads upon their valuable time, and so materially to darken their views." They were deficient in that tact, that enlargedness of view, and that thorough knowledge of the principles of criticism and of language in general, found to distinguish the great critics of the present day. These, however, were not so much the faults of the men, as of the age. Their peculiar excellencies were their own—called forth amidst much that was uncongenial. Let their attainments and their productions be compared with those of students in the department of natural philosophy who lived at the same time, and with what advantage do they appear. The efforts of the one class are almost lost sight of amidst the advances of modern science; whereas those of the other are still regarded with merited admiration. The lapse of ages will invest the former with more and more indistinctness, the latter with an ever expanding and brightening halo of glory.

Never, till England and America produce more eminent scholars, will the names of these celebrated men be remembered with aught but the deepest respect for their talents, and the most profound veneration for their unobtrusive piety. Nor even then. Should such arise, emulating German philologists in their profound learning, and surpassing them in child-like reverence for God's Holy Word, the mantle of their brethren of the seventeenth century will have fallen upon them, their celebrity will have stimulated them, their spirit will have characterized them. Our ancient and honorable name will have been regained, and England's sons, whether in Britain or

America, will ouce more be regarded, after the lapse of almost centuries, as the countrymen of Pococke, Lightfoot, Castell, Walton and Usher.

A LIST OF HEBREW GRAMMARS AND LEXICONS WRITTEN OR PRINTED IN ENGLAND UP TO THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

I. HEBREW GRAMMARS.

A. D.

- 12—. Baconi (Rogerii) Gram. Heb. According to Bale and Bartoloccus, this was found only in manuscript. It doubtless unfolded Bacon's peculiar system of teaching Hebrew. See Ch. Rev.
- 152—. Wakefeldii (Roberti) Institutiones Linguae Hebraicae. Referred to by Bale.
1570. Exercitatio G. (Alleii) Exoniæ Episcopi, in Linguae Sanctae Grammaticen,—or as it is styled in English,—“An Exercise in hexameter verses in Latin, upon the whole Rudiments of the Hebrew tongue, with a large and plane explication of the same in the English tongue; for the ease of them whiche be not experte in the saide tongue.” This work has never been printed. The following is a specimen of it:—
 “Hebraei numerant elementa
 duo atque viginti,
 Quorum diversas primum volo
 pingere formas,
 Et post illorum non declarare
 gravabor
 Voces atque sonos. De aliis
 tunc dicere pergam.”
- Stoky (—) Observationes Gram., Rhet., et Poeticæ, ad accuratiorem Linguae Sanctae cognit. This exists in manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge.
1593. Udall's Key to the Holy Tongue, 12 mo. This work is stated by Wolf to be a translation of Pet. Martinus' Technologia Gram. Ebr. Whether this be the case or not, which we have no means of ascertaining, Udall was a good Hebraician, and was

fully competent to write the work before us. This book was printed at Amsterdam the year after the author's decease, who died broken-hearted in the Marshalsea prison, the victim of priestly oppression. When told of his death, James I exclaimed, “By my soul, then, the greatest scholar in Europe is dead.” In the copy of this work which lies before us, there is an allusion to the death of the author; and curiously enough, its printer, while apologizing for typographical faults “by reason of ower unskillfulness of the English tongue,” instances only a mistake which occurs in the printing of a *Hebrew word*!

1610. Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae, by Richard Knolles. This scholar was master of the Free-school at Sandwich. He is better known in the literary world as the author of the “History of the Turks.” Anthony à Wood speaks of his erudition in high terms.
1635. Bythneri Institutio Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae, Lond. 8 vo. The next edition, which was printed at Oxford, 1638, by W. Turner, was entitled,—Bythneri Nova et Methodica Institutio Linguae Sanctae. A third appeared in 1648 at Cambridge, a fourth in London 1650, a fifth in 12mo. 1664, a sixth 1670, and a seventh in 1675, 8vo. Thus seven editions were published in forty years! A striking proof of increasing interest in Hebrew literature.

1637. *Hebrææ Linguae Institutiones compendiosissimæ et facillimæ*, by Row. This was printed in London in 12mo. Another edition appeared in 1644, with the Glasgow mark upon it, and was then entitled,—*Hebrææ linguæ Institutiones* a M. Joa. Row, epist. dedic. A. 3. b. Glasguæ, 1644. A third was printed in 1649, with "Amsterdam" on the title-page. Le Long mentions another edition in 1677. Townley states that Row's grammar was the first published in the English language, but this is a mistake.
1650. A General Grammar for the ready attaining of the Ebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic, and the Ethiopic Languages, by Christian Ravis, of Berlin. London 12mo. This work was dedicated to Archbishop Usher, and was especially designed for the author's pupils. Though it contains some useful information, it is somewhat unintelligible, arising from the author's little acquaintance with English. Wolf mentions a previous edition of this work, printed in London in 1648 in octavo.
1654. *Introductio ad lectionem Linguarum Orientalium, &c.*, by Dr. Walton. This tract, which was republished with additions in 1655, merely contains different alphabets, with sundry directions relative to the reading of the various tongues.
1662. Broughton de *Lingua Hebræa*. Contained in his works collected and printed in London under the following title,—
 "The works of the great Albionean Divine, renowned in many nations for rare skill in Salem's and Athens' Tongues, with familiar acquaintance with all Rabbinical Learning." This treatise occurs in vol. iii, 664–695.
1665. *Grammaticæ, Latinæ, Græcæ et Hebraicæ Compendium, &c.* By Hansard Knollys.
1668. A Hebrew Grammar, by Philip Henry. This work, which was never printed, was drawn up for the use of the author's daughter. See Life of P. Henry, p. 83.
1669. *Brevis et harmonica Grammaticæ omnium precedentium Linguarum delineatio*. Appended to Castell's *Heptaglot Lexicon*.
1684. A Grammatical Opening of some Hebrew words and phrases in the beginning of the Bible. By Francis Bamfield.
1686. Guil. Robertson. *Manipulus Linguae Sanctæ*. Cantab.
1686. Stennet's (J.) Hebrew Grammar. This learned man, an eminent physician, wrote this work at nineteen years of age. It was, says Crosby, well received by the public.
1698. *The Taghmical Art; or, the Art of Expounding Scripture by the points, usually called accents, but are really tactical: A Grammatical, Logical, and Rhetorical Instrument of Interpretation*, by Walter Cross, M. A., London. Some part of this curious but useless work is in prose, some in verse. The following is one of this author's poetic rules:—
 "Silluk the sentence and the verse doth end,
 Athnach in two divides, and so attends.
 Segolta—three will have, or not appear;
 Mercmah in verse doth to them both come near;
 Inferior game Reb. Gereschate doth play,
 Because as Vicar he comes in the way."

Besides these, several editions of grammars published on the continent were printed in England. Thus Buxtorf's "*Thesaurus Grammaticus Linguae Sanctæ Hebrææ*," was printed at Cambridge in 1646, and again in 1658, and in London 1656. Schickard's *Horologium Hebr.* was reprinted in London 1639.

II. HEBREW LEXICONS.

- 12—. A Hebrew Lexicon by Lawrence Holbeck, of Ramsey Abbey. This curious work was possessed in manuscript by Robert Wakefield, the first Hebrew professor of Oxford.
1602. Adam's Hebrew Dictionary.—Wolf affirms that this was really Sturtevant's work, published under another name.
1635. Alabastri (G.) Lexicon Pentaglotton, Heb., Chal., Syr., Talmudico-Rabbinicum et Arabicum, fol. This singular work proves its author to have been a learned man, although slavishly attached to the unintelligible mysteries of the Jewish Cabbala.
1644. J. Row, Pastoris Ecclesiæ Abudus, χιλίας Hebraica, seu vocabularium, continens præcipuas radices L. Heb. numero 1000 &c. 12mo. In this treatise Row asserts that the primitive Hebrew words of the Old Testament number 1700.
1646. Critica Sacra: or Observations on all the Radices or Primitive Hebrew words of the Old Testament, in order Alphabeticall. By Edward Leigh. A second edition in folio appeared in 1650, and another enlarged in 1662. In Amsterdam editions were printed in 1679, 1688 and 1696. It was also translated into French. An edition was also published at Gotha.
1648. Bythneri (V.) Clavis Linguae S. universas voces Pentateuchi &c. Cantab.
1656. Robertson's Key to the Hebrew Bible, by which most of the words in all the Historical Books, together with many, if not all, of the most used words through all the Prophecies, are unlocked and opened in an alphabetical Praxis upon the Psalms of David, and Lamentations of Jeremiah. 8vo. London.
- 16—. Lexicon Pente-glotton. By T. Harrison. This author was one of the translators of our present version.
1658. Bagwell's (Jo.) Dictionary of words of the Old and New Testaments. London.
- 16—. Robertson's First Gate, or the Outward Door to the Holy Tongue; ditto, Second Gate, or the Inner Door to the Holy Tongue, being a compendious Hebrew and English Dictionary. 12mo.
1662. Broughton's (H.) Hebrew-English Dictionary. In the preface to this scholar's collected works, this treatise is said to exist in manuscript.
1669. Castelli (E.) Lexicon Heptaglotton; Hebraicum, &c. Two vols. fol. Lond. Besides the common paper copies of this celebrated work, which are becoming scarce and dear, several large paper copies were struck off. Of these only three are known to be in existence. This book has suffered many casualties. Three hundred copies were destroyed in the fire of London. About five hundred more, having been stowed away in a room by Castelli's executrix, were so damaged by rats that the whole sold only for seven pounds.
1680. Robertson's (G.) Thesaurus Linguae Sanctæ; sive Concordantiale Lexicon Hebræo-Latino-Biblicum, 4to. Cantab. Another edition, Lond. 1686.

In addition to these there were several Lexicons printed of separate portions of the Hebrew Bible, viz., Udall's Lexicon on some of the Psalms, Bythner's Lexicon in his "Lyra," etc. Translations or reprints, moreover, of continental Lexicons were issued. Buxtorf's "Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum," appeared in London in 1646,

and again in 1663. The edition in 1646 purports to be the first Hebrew Lexicon printed in London. It was dedicated to the celebrated Long Parliament.

F. B.

Montreal.

ARTICLE VII.

REMARKS UPON DIVINE PROVIDENCE AND HUMAN DEPRAVITY.

An Article in the Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany, entitled, "The Loss of the Steamer Atlantic." Jan. 1847.

WE are greatly averse to controversy conducted in any other spirit than that of the gospel. We fully concur in the verdict of Solomon: "The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out waters; therefore leave off contention before it be meddled with." And yet it is useful to discuss, in the spirit of Christianity, important doctrines, and to "contend earnestly for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints."

Unitarianism has, perhaps, fewer fixed principles than almost any other faith. The canons of Unitarianism are so few, that we have long since abandoned the idea of charging upon the denomination the sentiments of any of its members. Here, to a ruinous extent, just as when "there was no king in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes." It is necessary to any denomination, while it avoids the extreme of the church's infallibility, to avoid also the opposite extreme, an entire disregard of all fixed principles. A church without some well defined positions is like a ship without helm or anchors. We do not charge the errors of the article above indicated upon Unitarianism, except so far as the general influence of that system is accountable for the mistakes of all its disciples; but upon the author and those who hold with him.

Our objection to the author's views of Providence is not that he advances no truth. Many truths are beautifully expressed. Indeed, there is a singular commingling of truth and error in most of the paragraphs, and in some sentences, throughout the article. Like one struggling in the dark, some of his efforts seem very much to the purpose, and others far enough from it. The objection is, that he places Jehovah in an unnecessarily belligerent attitude in respect to man, on the one hand; and man in a position of freedom from blame, on the other. In attributing the distressing wreck of the Atlantic to the Providence of God, he makes no distinction between permissive and appointed Providence; and overlooks the guilty agency of man. While that disaster occurred in the Providence of God, as all evil does, that is, with his knowledge and by his permission, there is no evidence that it occurred in his Providence as do those things over which we have no control, and which occur notwithstanding our efforts to the contrary. There are occurrences in regard to which we can only devoutly say,—and it is all the Christian wishes to say in such cases,—“It is the Lord; let him do as seemeth good in his sight.” So there are occurrences which, so far as we can see, have taken place by a most palpable and guilty disregard of his provisions to the contrary. The loss of the Atlantic, so far as her managers were concerned, is evidently of the latter class. We object to their folding their hands and exclaiming in self-vindication, “Well, this has all occurred in the Providence of God.” They should rather say, “Jehovah in his Providence has permitted our errors to cast this gloom and distress upon the community.” And this we would not speak by way of railing at them, for injuries done, but by way of vindicating God's Providence, and preventing future disregard of his provisions for the good of his creatures. Let us here give a specimen of the reasoning of the article.

“What, then, is the Providence in their case? They trust, under God, to the strength and speed of their vessel, to the tried power and precision of her nerves of steel and “her bones, like bars of iron and strong pieces of brass.” But, in the order of Providence, the swelling fury of the waves strains their boat, and, beyond any anticipation of such a blow, wrenches a vital part of that safeguard asunder, and they are cast with their ship, now unmanageable, into the trough of the sea.

Again, they trust to the strength of their anchors ; but these, too, in the order of Providence, drag through the sandy bottom, clinging, and yet yielding by degrees. They trust to an abatement of the storm ; but by the Providential direction it grows more fierce and resistless. They trust to a favorable change or lull of the wind ; but it is providentially ordered to increase its rage and blow with more deadly aim. They bend in prayer, and call on God to save them ; yet He that "rides on the whirlwind and directs the storm" does not reverse the destructive current of the elements. Under the breath of his nostrils and the blast of his mouth, they plunge from point to point amid the boiling waters ; every larger wave making a breach over the groaning deck. All, all, as the Christian must say, is in obedience, not to chance or nature, but to God. Hour by hour they near the pitiless rocks,—kedging along over the huge backs of the foaming surges, drawn as by a devouring chain towards the jaws of destruction. The voyaging steam-ship comes and looks at her laboring fellow, but moves in despair away. Human eyes are upon them, but human hands cannot reach. While they hang between life and death, a sail (one before had set out, but returned) puts off to their relief, but is providentially ordered to strike and sink. As one is represented as praying of old, so they pray and hope for the light to see by, if they must be dashed upon the ragged, unrelenting shore ; but, providentially, they strike, with the boding and melancholy sound of doom in their ears, before the darkness is dispersed. They trust that at least their own vital energies will remain to that degree unexhausted, that they may struggle bravely at last with the wild waters, and grapple firmly, as they shall be thrown upon the rocks ; but it is ordered that the cold, piercing breeze shall chill their blood and benumb their limbs, and the white, glittering spray fly in freezing drops around them upon the wings of the hurricane. They prepare to leap when the ship may strike, and strive, as they best may with enfeebled powers, amidst the angry surf ; but it is decreed that the falling beams shall stun many for an easy prey to the gaping gulf, and crush others to instantaneous death. The strong swimmer bares his arms, and hopes to find a clear path through the crested breakers to the roaring beach ; but it is ordered that the grinding fragments of the wreck shall block up the way, and encumber him with their own destruction. The hedge of ruin is built thick and impenetrable about them. One leaps upon the shore, but the reflux wave is sent by Providence, and hastens him away. While a scarce living moiety are swept to firm ground, this entangling net of opposing circumstances is woven to bear the remnant helpless back. And as, with expiring groan, one after another is entombed, not in the quiet earth, with the tears of a band of mourners, but in the hollows of the overtopping waves, the strongly knit timbers of the noble but conquered vessel, the pride of the seas that now wreak their wrath upon her, are rent apart with a moaning sound."

They had no right to "trust to the strength of their vessel." Strength was sacrificed to beauty and speed. It avails nothing to say, she was built stronger than most steamers for the Sound. Many times have those con-

cerned been admonished that it is a defiance of nature, and of nature's God, to put such frail craft upon waters so exposed to the storm-driven wave. That she was stronger than many of her frail fellows, is no vindication of the fact that she was not so strong as all experience has shown necessary. If men will presume against their own experience and conviction, upon the interference of mercy to interrupt the regular order of things for their safety, while they sacrifice to their pride and avarice a proper and necessary precaution, when injury comes, let them not justify themselves, or blame their Maker. Who, that understands the construction of "the vital part of that safe-guard," will say that it was "beyond any anticipation of such a blow, that it was broken by the straining of the boat," when he is informed that the precaution of having a joint in it, which might have prevented the disaster, was carelessly disregarded? "They trust to the strength of their anchors!" What vindication is that, when their anchors were not adapted to their necessity; and when those "upper works, which must have received at least one half of the pressure of the wind," contrary to the advice of many, were permitted to remain? When it is so evident, "that the vessel was fairly overcome in the ordinary operation of natural laws," we cannot consent to the attitude in which Jehovah is placed to her by such remarks as: "Under the breath of his nostrils and the blast of his mouth, they plunge from point to point amid the beating waters,"—"It is ordained that the cold piercing breeze shall chill their blood and benumb their limbs,"—when they would escape. "It is decreed that the falling beams shall stun many for an easy prey to the gaping gulf, and crush others to instantaneous death." We will not repeat the remaining charges against our merciful Maker which follow, when all which is true in the case is, that while he pitied their condition, he could not arrest the regular operations of nature in their behalf.

It is quite time for the public to proclaim, in thunder tones, to those who seek their patronage upon the different thoroughfares, that they must omit no precaution necessary to safety. In a country of so much travel as this, and where so many disasters, including a great amount of property and of life occur, there is no reason in any

apology for the delinquents; much less is a false theology called for, which shall afford them, apparently, divine protection. Dr. Channing, in his discourse upon the death of Dr. Follen, who was lost in the Lexington, (and it is very evident that this, for the most part, excellent discourse, suggested the article we are noticing,) well remarks: "Undoubtedly a great amount of suffering may be traced to human ignorance and guilt." The sentiment must find a response in every mind accustomed to observation, or acquainted with the word of God. Individuals, families, communities, and preëminently those controlling our modes of conveyance from place to place, bring upon themselves and others, by their ignorance and guilt, their improvidence, presumption and avarice, much misery; and let them not charge it upon the Almighty.

In leaving this topic, let us add to the things already mentioned, sufficient to account for the disaster of the Atlantic, two others. In going to New York, shortly afterwards, we noticed that the boat on which we crossed the Sound had an entirely new mast and sail, evidently supplied since that disaster. Why did not the Atlantic have such a provision? It might have saved her. Besides, it was singular presumption to venture out in such a storm. It was equivalent to saying, we will see if we cannot go to New York in spite of the tempest! Let the experiment prove a warning to those who either ignorantly, or presumptuously, think of attempting it again.

The phrase—the "Providence of God"—is very indefinite, and means, in different uses, very different things. It is a theological rather than a scriptural phrase, never indeed occurring in the Scriptures. The providence of man, even, occurs but once in the Bible. See Acts 24: 2. The verb to provide, in relation to Jehovah, occurs a few times both in the Old and New Testaments. As specimens, see Gen. 22: 8, Heb. 11: 40. Here it is always used in the sense of procuring or causing. Scripturally, therefore, we think we are safe in affirming, nothing occurs in the Providence of God, except that which he procures or causes; not that which he only permits. A careful examination of the passages in which the verb is found is sufficient to substantiate the truth of this statement. It is very easy for any one, with a good Concordance, to examine for himself. Philologically, the "Providence of

God" means primarily his foresight, and then his permission, for what he foresees to be necessary. In this sense, therefore, "Providence of God" is correctly used only in cases for which he has directly provided, having foreseen the necessity, and not in regard to things which he has only permitted to occur, in the progress of natural laws. Theologically, the Providence of God means, "the care and superintendence which he exercises over his creatures." So that in this sense we convey no definite meaning by the phrase, unless we add the distinction of general and particular; or permissive and appointed. The loss of the Atlantic, for instance, occurred in the general or permissive "Providence of God;" but not, as the article claims, in the particular or appointed "Providence of God."

We come now to the other topic, depravity. The article gives two compensations for the loss of the Atlantic, one of which is: "the development of character, both in bringing into exercise and strengthening human virtue." Hence he takes opportunity to laud "human virtue," and, in connection with this, to explode the "dark creed of human depravity."

It will be necessary to quote the remarks of the article on this topic.

The other compensation is the development of character, both in bringing into exercise and in strengthening human virtue. We have attempted to draw a picture of the scene. But as we look calmly at the real events, what appears the most prominent? Not the terrific sublimity of the storm, not the vast treasure sinking in the deep or lining the ragged shore, not the sharply defined images of bodily suffering, not the darker lines of mental anguish; but the strokes of moral greatness;—the calm soul confronting peril and yielding not to the hurricane,—fidelity firm at its station, surrendering self-preservation to duty,—friendship keeping alternate watch at its post,—mutual respect and justice to a common nature, practising the golden rule at the doors of death,—devotion consecrating that cabin for as holy a temple as was ever dedicated with formal and solemn rites,—Christian love overflowing the barriers of sect, and mingling differing minds below as they are above,—religious submission, with that low whisper rising above the fury of the storm, though but breathed from just parted lips,—"The Father's will be done!"—and, to crown all, self-sacrifice coming down from the safety reached on the firm shore, to breast the surf again in perilous efforts for the rescue of others. Before these things the billows sink in grandeur, the terrors of the night fade away, and the tempestuous sky and resounding rocks become but the frame and setting for the lustre of the human character. The voice of the ocean, as

we thus hear it, loses its angry tone, and seems to have only that of paying homage to excellence, "deep calling unto deep at the noise of his waterspouts," in tribute to all that is generous and lofty in the human soul. It fills us with a sort of exultation to know that not a few were in that tempest-tost bark, whose inmost hearts, in all the tumult, leaned upon the anchor that would not drag nor give way. Their souls throw a sanctifying halo about the awful scene.

Had there been none but worldly and depraved hearts upon that deck, how comparatively sad the wreck would have been! But we are assured that there was a spirit of unselfish regard one for another, with particular instances of affectionate and disinterested consideration. These good qualities of the human heart kindle up a lustre amid those gloomy and heaving waves,—a lustre which abides after the gloomy and heaving waves have gone down, and shines brighter than a beacon fire into the souls of survivors, and makes admiration almost get the better of commiserating pity, as it reveals what this human nature of ours is capable of in its extremity, and awakens the desire, in every hard-beset condition which Providence may ordain, to emulate such magnanimity."

"Our next reflection is upon the displays of worth in human nature which trying circumstances unfold. At the call for nobleness and self-denial, nobleness and self-denial come. Man, so often seeming selfish and faithless, is not apt to be recreant in the time of bitter pain and fear. "The hour that tries men's souls" reveals goodness in them. The instances of disinterestedness are reported every where with the tidings of disaster. And, let us say, the generosity which danger stirs up even in ordinary minds refutes the dark creed of human depravity. Human nature is not made to be mean, but noble. The human heart, even when it has become depraved, responds to the spirit of love and self-sacrifice, and beats high with the good sentiments it sees displayed. We will not give up our faith in man."

Admitting now all that the article claims for "human virtue," still, what evidently was not in the thought of the author, "the dark creed of human depravity" remains untouched. What, when he supposes it demolished, admitting the power of his assault, is still in being? Let us see. It is by no means essential to man's depravity, to deny him "strokes of moral greatness," even to the extent claimed in the extract. It may be true that somewhere, at some time, somebody has advanced views of depravity such as the article takes for granted; but we very much doubt even this. The ordinary theological works give no such views of the doctrine. The following history of depravity is from "Knapp's Christian Theology." "The descriptions given of it by theologians are very different, as to the words employed. Melancthon describes the *peccatum originis*, as an inclination or dis-

position to all evil, which, however, does not always manifest itself in the same way or in the same degree, and which does not appear at once, but gradually, and in all men. Others describe it as that disposition of soul by which all evil desires have an existence in it, or rather spring up whenever occasion offers, etc. But they all agree at last that the essence of natural depravity is the disturbed balance of the powers and inclinations of man, or the preponderance of the carnal desires over reason. It lies in the fact that the lower nature of man, made by God to obey, is not submissive to the reason, as the power which should give law and govern. The following definition may therefore be given of the moral depravity of man, in conformity both with experience and Scripture; it is that tendency to sinful passions, or unlawful propensities, which is perceived in man, whenever objects of desire are placed before him, and laws are laid upon him. Rom. vii. Now what is there in all this, averse to "strokes of moral greatness?" To assert that "man is inclined to all evil," is not to assert that he is, under no circumstances, inclined to any thing worthy. There may be "a preponderance of carnal desires," and, originally, inclinations of the highest order; and, under certain circumstances, manifestations of the noblest qualities. Depravity claims not that there is nothing good in man, but that "he is inclined to all evil, and that there is a preponderance of evil," which would certainly sink him to despair, but for the interposing grace of God.

But the article attributes some things to "human virtue," and "human nature," which evidently had a higher origin:—"devotion consecrating that cabin for as holy a temple as was ever dedicated with formal and solemn rites—Christian love overflowing the barriers of sect, and mingling different minds below as they are above—religious submission, with that low whisper, rising above the fury of the storm, though but breathed with just parted lips, 'The Father's will be done.'" If all this is from "human virtue," and "human nature," then indeed we have no atonement! An atonement were superfluous in such a case, and Jehovah has not provided one! Independently, however, of all creeds, we would say to our fellow men, try but the experiment of meeting your God, either by sudden casualty, or by protracted sickness, in

reliance upon "human virtue," or "human nature." "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners;" and if ye are not the "chief of sinners," yet are ye sinners, and can only meet your final account with intelligent composure, by an humble reliance upon "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."

Where is the necessity for attributing such manifestations of that trying, and yet on account of them, triumphant and glorious scene, to "human virtue" and "human nature?" Does not the Bible attribute such things to the grace of God, through faith in his Son? And does not all experience confirm the truth of the Bible, by showing that on such occasions despair and agony are the result of unbelief, and sweet trust and reconciliation the result alone of faith in the Saviour? And were not the very instigators of the glorious scenes of that occasion professors of the religion of Jesus Christ? What account did that "hymn and prayer," which the article assures us they united in, amid the storm, make of "human virtue," or "human nature?" Surely the young man, who, it informs us, in health "raised the question with a friend, what example Christ would have set in the walks of business," relied upon him, rather than upon "human virtue," or "human nature," now that he was about to go to him. There can be no doubt that Dr. Armstrong united with his fellow passengers, not in hymns and prayers to "human virtue," or "human nature," but to that Saviour whom he had so long preached to his fellow men, and whose gospel he had so extensively aided in sending to the distant heathen. "It fills us," also, "with a sort of exultation to know that not a few were in that tempest-tost bark, whose inmost heart, in all the tumult leaned upon the anchor that would not drag nor give way. Their souls throw a sanctifying halo about the awful scene." But who can attribute this to "human nature?" "Human nature" bears no such fruit. Such are the results of reliance upon religion, or at least of extraordinary firmness and habits of hardihood, either of which suppositions refutes the practical creed of human virtue.

Such scenes are indeed rich in the triumphs of Christian faith; and there have been, at such times, instances

of the victory of kindly feelings and good manners over a grovelling selfishness; but if we were to attempt a eulogy of "human nature," an argument against "human depravity," that scene and similar ones are the last places we should go to for facts. If a few instances of a noble nature "refute the dark creed of human depravity," do not a few instances of debasing selfishness refute the bright creed of human virtue? Suppose, now, there is a great preponderance of the grovelling over the noble, what then follows? Was there an instance or two "of self-sacrifice, coming down from the safety reached on the firm shore, to breast the surf again in perilous efforts for the rescue of others?" The only marvel is, on the theory of "human virtue" advocated by the article in question, that there were not more cases of the same kind,—that the mass, regardless of those left behind, as soon as their feet touched terra firma, made their way to a place of safety and comfort. Such scenes do indeed "reveal what this human nature of ours is capable of in its extremity!" Witness the humiliating facts, "reported every where with the tidings of disaster," of the cold indifference, of rude repulse, from within the circle of sufferers; and the base, blood thirsty attacks of wreckers and others from without. And all this in a civilized and Christian country, where "human nature" has long had the best of teaching. If such are her exhibitions in her best estate, what are they in her worst?

Sir Walter Scott says, that the inhabitants of the Orkney and Shetland Islands were greatly averse to the erection of light-houses on their coasts, which should diminish the wrecks upon which they had been wont to prey. Rev. Orville Dewey, a name of authority with the readers of the *Christian Examiner*, in a sermon before the "Shipwreck Society," of New York, gives the following portrait of human nature. He says, an eye witness related to him the following facts: "He was hunting on the sea-shore—I will not say where it was—when, as the night fell, he was overtaken by one of those fearful storms, which upon the sea-shore, more than any where else, seem to leave all nature shelterless and exposed to its fury. As he drew near to a lonely tavern on the beach, and night closed in thick darkness around him, and the roar of the thundering surges rose upon his ear, mingling

with the wailings of the tempest, he could not help thinking almost with awe, that some hapless voyagers might be driving upon their destruction, almost at his very feet. What then was his surprise on entering the house, to find it brilliantly lighted up, and occupied by a party of wreckers, at the highest pitch of glee and merriment. The revel lasted quite through the night, and was only interrupted by the sallying forth of the party at day-break with much noise and hilarity to walk upon the beach. In about an hour they returned, as completely changed as if every one had been seized with a sudden illness; every trace of mirth fled from their faces; sad, spiritless and dejected, looking like mourners at a funeral. They had found no wreck! Yes, it is true; they had sung and revelled all that night, in the hope that the wild and desolate shore without had been resounding with the shrieks and agonies of "shipwreck!"

We do not claim that isolated facts alone prove "human depravity;" but they are as forcible as when used to prove "human virtue." And when we consider how much more numerous facts unfavorable to human virtue are, particularly where there are fewest restraints of Christianity and civilization, they are an irresistible confirmation of the truth upon this subject, already established in the Bible.

If the question arises, why attempt to enshroud in gloom bright views of "human nature?"—we answer, human nature gains nothing by flattery. It is much better for her to take a sober, truthful view of her case. Besides, it is insulting to truth and to its author to represent human nature differently from what it has been represented, both upon the page of Scripture and of experience. And last, though not least, it is ruinous to man, to flatter him as to his natural condition, in relation to sin and to the atonement. Just in proportion as the idea prevails, that human nature is in and of itself right, will man feel independent of that "blood, without which there is no remission" of sin. And just in proportion as he feels safe in himself, does he promote his own ruin. O that all teachers of religion would study the experience of that great and good man, Dr. Chalmers, related in his "address to the inhabitants of the parish of Kilmany." Alluding, in a tender manner, to what he now considered an

erroneous method of preaching, which he had practised among them for "twelve years," he remarks,—“During the whole of that period, in which I made no attempt against the natural enmity of the mind to God, while I was inattentive to the way in which this enmity is dissolved, even by the free offer on the one hand, and the believing acceptance on the other, of the gospel salvation; while Christ, through whose blood the sinner, who by nature stands afar off, is brought near to the heavenly law-giver, whom he has offended, was scarcely ever spoken of, or, spoken of in such a way as stripped him of all the importance of his character and his offices, even at this time I did press the reformations of honor and truth and integrity among my people; but I never once heard of any such reformation being effected among them. If there was any thing at all brought about in this way, it was more than I ever got any account of. I am not sensible that all the vehemence with which I urged the virtues and the proprieties of social life, had the weight of a feather on the moral habits of my parishioners. And it was not till I got impressed by the utter alienation of the heart in all its desires and affections from God; it was not till reconciliation to him became the distinct and the prominent object of my ministerial exertions; it was not till I took the scriptural way of laying the method of reconciliation before them; it was not till the free offer of forgiveness through the blood of Christ was urged upon their acceptance, and the Holy Spirit given through the channel of Christ's mediatorship to all who ask him, was set before them as the unceasing object of their dependence and their prayers; it was not, in one word, till the contemplations of my people were turned to these great and essential elements in the business of a soul providing for its interest with God, and the concerns of its eternity, that I ever heard of any of those subordinate reformations, which I afore time made the earnest and the zealous, but I am afraid at the same time, the ultimate object of my earliest ministrations.”

There are other things in the article which seem to us singular, both as to their logic and their theology. We can only give them a passing notice. For instance,

“It is said that all suffering is the consequence of sin, and is sent to punish and reform. But this is not true to Scripture or to fact. The

innocent suffer. 'Many are the afflictions of the righteous.' The idea of penalty, of retribution, cannot explain all the pangs of human life. And if He, who in the physical universe provides a compensation for every disturbance only to accomplish more perfectly his wise and gracious designs, provide no equivalent compensation for the providential disturbances of his children's peace, then clouds and darkness are indeed around his throne, through which no light penetrates. But there is blasphemy in the thought. The compensations exist."

Suppose we admit for a moment the theology, what must we say to the logic? "The innocent suffer." How so? "Many are the afflictions of the righteous." Are the righteous then innocent, undeserving punishment? If they are, still it is here an assumption without proof, which improves very little the logic. But is it so perfectly clear that the righteous, that is, the best men among us, are innocent,—undeserving of punishment, and beyond the necessity of it for their reformation? This, evidently, is true neither from fact nor Scripture. We surely need not refer to particular facts or texts; the least reflection will suggest them. "If all suffering is" not "the consequence of sin, and sent to punish and reform," what then, in the logic of the article, is the cause and object of suffering? It gives no cause of suffering. If sin is not the cause, the article should at least attempt to show what it is. It however is more consistent on the other point; the object of suffering is not always to punish and reform, but for a "compensation." Singular reasoning! Here is a kind parent, permitting or causing his child to be punished that he may compensate him for it; he pains him, that he may soothe him. It is much better logic certainly—as to its being better theology no one can doubt—to take the old Bible ground, that all suffering is occasioned by sin, and is permitted or ordained for punishment or reformation. Still, as advantage is, in some instances, the natural result of both suffering and punishment; and as, in infinite wisdom and goodness, Jehovah causes good to spring out of evil, and causes all things to work together for the good of his people, we are compensated for what we suffer.

"But there is blasphemy in the thought." What thought? The thought that Jehovah does not for every suffering grant us a compensation? Under what obligation is he to do that? And where is the compensation for

the suffering of an agonizing death to him, who by it is hurried to that condition in another world, which in the Bible is termed "everlasting punishment?" If it is replied, the death of a bad man is compensated for in the fact that as it shortens his days of rebellion, it prevents an accumulation of guilt and misery; still, we answer, there is no evidence that his death was sent as a compensation. In Bible phraseology, it is a penalty. What then is the blasphemous thought? That "clouds and darkness are indeed about his throne, through which no light penetrates?" And has it come to this, that the creature is at liberty to interrogate the Creator; that the child of a moment must comprehend the Almighty? That Jehovah is pleased to reveal many of his methods to man is evident; that he is under any obligation to do it, or always does it, is another thing. The Psalmist exclaims, "Clouds and darkness are round about him;" and this passage suggests any number of passages, indicating the direction of blasphemy on this subject.

One of the compensations for the wreck of the Atlantic is stated in the article to be, "the fact of immortality." See page 123. Our difficulty here is not with the inaccuracy of the expression, though we might well ask for evidence that "immortality" is any way dependent upon death; but if we mistake not, the article does (though, of course, not intentionally!) covertly deny future punishment. "Indeed, if to them that perish, death be the end, there is no adequate compensation." What then if death be the end of happiness; more, the commencement of "everlasting punishment," where now is the compensation? Death is indeed an unspeakable favor to Christians; but if it would be no favor to persons annihilated, how is it to those, who "go away into everlasting punishment?" If the author's theology, in regard to future punishment, is right, (he of course believes in it!) then his theory of "compensation" is false.

D. C. H.

ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY NOTICES.

I. BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

1. *A New Translation of the Book of Psalms, with an Introduction and Notes chiefly explanatory.* By GEORGE R. NOYES, D. D. Second edition. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1846. 367 pp. 12mo.

The first edition of this work has become well known to the public. In this new edition, the author informs us that he has revised the translation, and added a number of pages to the Introduction, and several explanatory notes. The general principles of the work are, of course, unchanged. The Introduction contains much valuable information, pertaining to the understanding of the Book of Psalms. The explanatory notes are in general brief, simple and correct. The author, however, seldom ventures to speak very decidedly on difficult passages, and avoids extended discussion on points which involve important principles of interpretation. The translation arranges the stanzas in such a manner as to exhibit the poetic element of the original; it may be looked upon as a useful help to the study of the Psalms; but will not satisfy the critical student. It is not sufficiently thorough or extensive. Any one who wishes to go into the profound exegesis of the sacred authors, and to understand the fundamental questions pertaining to their interpretation, must look to some other source.

Dr. Noyes often quotes de Wette, whose opinions, in many respects, he adopts. It is not strange, therefore, that he often walks in a different path from orthodox commentators both in this country and in Germany. It seems to us that he treads in wrong paths, dangerous to the interests of a sober faith and sound interpretation. Without descending to his observations in detail, we have a remark or two to make concerning his views of inspiration, and of the Messianic psalms. In both, he seems to us to have fallen into errors, serious in themselves, and serious in their consequences.

In respect to the Messianic psalms generally, following de Wette, Dr. Noyes seems to intimate that there are no psalms which have exclusive reference to the Messiah, and at the same time he rejects any typical or allegorical interpretation, which would give to any of them such a reference. He says,—“At first view, it would be natural to expect that the lyrical productions of the Jewish poets, as well as the writings of the prophets, would contain allusions to the Messiah. But when we come to examine those which have been chiefly referred to as containing the Messianic hopes, such as the ii., xvi., xxii., xl., xlv., lxxii., cx., we seem to find, on the principles of historical interpretation which are applied to all other books, in some of them no predic-

tions whatever, but only references to the past or the present; in others, only glowing anticipations, which seem to refer to the writer of the psalm, or to Jewish kings contemporary with him." This seems to cut off entirely the Messianic character of all the Psalms. The question then will immediately arise, Do not the writers of the New Testament, and does not our Lord himself affirm, that some of the writings of the prophets contain predictions concerning the Messiah? "All things," says Christ, "must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and the psalms concerning me." "What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he? They say unto him, The son of David. Jesus answered and said unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thy enemies thy footstool. If David call him Lord, how is he then his son?" In the second of Acts, Peter, referring to the sixteenth psalm, says, "David speaketh concerning him," viz. Christ. And afterwards, in his comment on the same, he adds, "David—being a prophet—and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne, he, seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption." Paul in Heb. v. 5, quoting Psalm ii., says, "So also Christ glorified not himself to be made an high-priest; but *he that said unto him*, 'Thou art my son, to-day have I begotten thee.'" And in vii., 21, "For those priests were made without an oath; but this with an oath, by *him that said unto him*, The Lord swear and will not repent, Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchisedek." See also Heb. x. 5—10. Dr. Noyes, following some of the German and other commentators of lax views, suggests a variety of methods of accounting for these passages without allowing them a Messianic reference; yet in so cautious a manner as to avoid, for the most part, the responsibility which would make him liable to be accused of adopting those lax opinions; but he equally avoids the frank, full and free-hearted avowal of his belief in their Messianic signification. The question, however, seems to be a very simple one. The New Testament writers and Jesus Christ himself being witnesses, there are Psalms of a prophetic character—prophetic of the person, the character, the sufferings, the triumph and the times of Christ. This is distinctly asserted, in terms which signify this, or they signify nothing. We may appeal, for example, to the passages quoted above, and to other passages of a kindred character and spirit. We may appeal also to passages such as Acts i. 16, where the apostle Peter says, "The Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake this before concerning Judas, which was guide to them that took Jesus." In respect to these passages, the remark of Dr. Noyes—"It deserves consideration, whether Christ may not be said to have fulfilled what is written in the Psalms concerning him, when he *filled out* or completed, what was valuable in the experience, or precious in the hopes, of David and other servants of God, which are the proper subjects of the Psalms. His life and sufferings were analogous to theirs, but of a higher character, and attended with more glorious results"—this remark, we say, seems to us by no means to come up to the demands of the case. It denies, after all, that these prophecies in the

Psalms were spoken concerning Christ. Moreover, we have no occasion to allow a mystical or allegorical sense. Even the suggestion that our Saviour and his apostles employ the argument *ex concessis*, in some of the instances involves an absolute impossibility, and in many others is wholly insufficient and unlikely, not to say absurd.

But we are most of all surprised at a suggestion which strikes at the root of inspiration. Dr. Noyes says—"In regard to some of the references made to the Psalms by Paul and Peter, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, it seems necessary to suppose that they were not inspired as critics and interpreters, but that they argued according to a mode of reasoning and of interpretation which they held in common with their contemporaries, but which cannot be regarded as valid at the present day. Now it is an indisputable fact, that the ancient Jews, without regard to any just laws of interpretation, and especially in pursuance of the typical or the allegorical method, applied hundreds of passages of the Old Testament to the Messiah, which no one in modern times can suppose to relate to him. It would be singular, therefore, if we did not find traces of the same mode of applying scriptural passages in the writers of the New Testament." In another place he asks, "Why should not the *language* of David, as well as his *conduct*, be sometimes inconsistent with what is right?" Without stopping to show, in detail, the incorrectness of the views here suggested, we deem it sufficient, in general, to say that since "ALL Scripture is given by inspiration of God," and "Holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," then, if there are in the New Testament errors of reasoning or of interpretation, in respect to the prophetic or Messianic psalms, so called, they are the errors, not of Jewish writers merely, but the errors of the Holy Ghost,—the errors of God. From such a conclusion, who does not shrink back with horror? Who can put confidence in a theory which leads to such a result?

We learn from a casual remark in another part of the Introduction that Dr. Noyes's views of inspiration are, by no means, equivalent to the declarations of the sacred writers themselves. He says, "The most probable account of this matter in my humble opinion is this, that God Almighty (though in a particular sense the God of Abraham and his offspring), did not interpose by his grace, or act upon the minds of his peculiar people, not even of their *prophets*, in an extraordinary manner, except when he vouchsafed to suggest some future event, or any other circumstance that might be for the public benefit of mankind. In all other respects, I apprehend they were left to the full exercise of their free will, without control of the divine impulse." This, for aught we can see, denies inspiration substantially, except in the case of prophecy. But so small a portion of the Scriptures is prophetic, that to deny inspiration to all other parts is very nearly equivalent to an entire denial of it. And then, what becomes of the statement, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God?" With such views, whenever a doctrine or statement, not distinctly prophetic, clashes with a person's opinions, he has no trouble in affirming that it is not inspired, that the writer is in error. And in this view, the great Protestant principle,— "the Scriptures are the only and all sufficient rule of faith and practice"—is no longer of any value. While we rejoice in the accumula-

tion of means for the understanding of the word of God, we greatly dread the promulgation of sentiments adapted to undermine our faith and to shake the confidence of men in the divine revelation.

II. GENERAL LITERATURE.

2. *The Baptist Almanac and Annual Register for the year of our Lord 1847. Adapted for use in every part of the United States.* Philadelphia, American Baptist Publication Society, 1847. Boston, Gould, Kendall & Lincoln.

This useful manual deserves more than a passing notice. Though it is designed to be only an annual pamphlet, it contains a great body of statistical information respecting the Baptist denomination, which commends it to the regards of those who have occasion to consult authentic records. It does honor to the industry and wisdom of the editor. Besides the usual calendar pages, we have 1. Tables of all the Baptist Associations in the United States, with the number of churches, ministers, members, etc., and the corresponding secretary of each, with his address. 2. A General Summary, shewing the number of churches to be 9,795; of members, 722,404; ministers, 5,564; licentiates, 1,175; baptized within the last year, 36,917. 3. Baptist Associations in the British Provinces and West Indies. 4. Anti-Mission Baptist Associations in the United States. 5. Statistics of Baptist churches throughout the world. 6. Other religious denominations in the United States. 7. Table of Baptist Colleges and Theological Schools in the United States, Great Britain and the British Provinces, with the usual tabular information respecting them. 8. National Baptist Societies. 9. Baptist Periodicals in the United States. Of these, there are twenty issued weekly; one, semi-monthly; ten, monthly; three, quarterly, and one, annually. Seven are established in Massachusetts; five in New York; in Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, three each; in Ohio, Illinois and Georgia, two each; and in seven other States, one each. Such a Manual is of great value and must demand great diligence in its execution.

3. *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the year 1847.* Boston, James Munroe & Co. pp. 351. 12mo.

The American Almanac has been published for eighteen years, and is widely circulated and highly esteemed both in America and Europe. As an accurate and extensive repository of general and statistical information, it stands unrivalled. Many new tables and other articles will be found in the present number, in the various departments of politics, literature, commerce, geography, science and law.

4. *Schiller's Homage of the Arts, with Miscellaneous Pieces from Rückert, Freiligrath, and other German Poets.* By CHARLES T. BROOKS. Boston, James Munroe & Co. 1847. 151 pp. 16mo.

In versions of the poetry of one language into another, the spirit of the original too often vanishes away, and the spirit of the translator takes its place. Of this remark we could cite many examples. But the author of these translations, some years since, gave to the public a very favorable pledge of his abilities in this kind of imitations in the

twelfth volume of the "Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature." The present little volume is a smaller collection of "specimens," preserving, in a happy manner, the spirit and freshness of the original. We are gratified with these life-like imitations, because they present us a genuine fac-simile of the German mind, in its moments of playful fancy and poetic inspiration. The volume is tastefully printed and bound, and will be an acceptable offering to the lovers of this department of German literature.

5. *Christianity and Civil Liberty. A Thanksgiving Sermon delivered in the Meeting House of the First Baptist church, Providence, R. I., Nov. 26, 1846.* By JAMES N. GRANGER. Providence. G. P. Daniels. 1847. pp. 27. 8vo.

This excellent and timely discourse shows that a "pure Christianity is the great bulwark of civil liberty." It is a serious, intellectual and manly plea for Christianity in its political bearings. By showing the nature of Christianity and the meaning and extent of civil liberty, together with the connection between the two, the author is led to speak of some of the abuses and errors of the age, in terms of kind, but rational rebuke, and to show that they are the legitimate offspring of wrong views. The discourse will highly approve itself to all reasonable and thinking men.

6. *Apollos, or the Preacher.* A Sermon preached before the Maine Baptist Convention, holden at Brunswick, June 16, 1846. By Rev. J. T. CHAMPLIN, Professor in Waterville College. Portland. C. Day & Co. 1846. pp. 32. 8vo.

This discourse is founded on 2 Tim. 2: 15—"Rightly dividing the word of truth." Prof. Champlin shows that, in order to be a minister "that needeth not to be ashamed," the preacher should rightly divide the word—1. In respect to its topics of excitement, edification and consolation. 2. In respect to its sterner and milder features. 3. In respect to the moral constitution of man. 4. In respect to the social state of man. 5. In respect to the particular condition of his own people. The sermon is well conceived and well expressed; alike honorable to the author, and to the audience who requested its publication.

7. *Memoir of Asahel Grant, M. D., Missionary to the Nestorians.* Compiled by Rev. A. C. LOTHROP. Containing also an *Appeal to Pious Physicians*, by Dr. GRANT. New York. M. W. Dodd. 1847. pp. 216. 18mo.

This little volume is another delightful contribution to missionary biography. The amiable, affectionate and pious spirit of Dr. Grant, as well as the scenes of danger and of stirring enterprise through which he passed, give the brief record more than ordinary attractions. As a suitable tribute to his worth, it will, we doubt not, lengthen out the usefulness of his too short life, by still diffusing the influence of his spirit and labors. Dr. Grant was born in Marshall, Oneida Co., N. Y., August 19, 1809. He made satisfactory progress in study in early

life, but never enjoyed the advantage of a liberal education. He pursued the study of medicine at regular institutions, and was settled in lucrative practice at Utica, N. Y., when he conceived it to be his duty to devote his life to the promotion of the cause of missions. He sailed from this country in May, 1835, and died April 24, 1844, having been a most earnest, devoted and useful servant of God. He was twice married. The first Mrs. Grant died before his first embarkation, leaving two sons, for whom, though left behind, their father ever manifested the deepest interest and anxiety. The second Mrs. Grant was distinguished by her energy and piety, and died after spending about three years in the mission. A memoir has been some years before the public, describing her character and labors. Dr. Grant has made himself very widely known by his volume maintaining the identity of the Nestorians with the Lost Tribes of the Hebrews. His latest labors were among the mountain Nestorians. Just before his death the station was broken up by the hostile proceedings which, ripening since that time, have recently swept hundreds of that interesting people, by an unsparing slaughter, from the face of the earth.

8. *Biography of Self-Taught Men: with an Introductory Essay.* Vol. I. Boston. B. Perkins & Co. 1846. pp. 324. 16mo.

The substance of this volume was prepared several years ago by Professor Edwards, of the Andover Theological Seminary, with the design of encouraging young men who are endeavoring by their own efforts and resources to rise to respectability and usefulness. The subjects selected are well adapted to this end, and the various lives constitute a deeply interesting volume. The deserving class of persons for whose benefit the work is written, have many and severe struggles with difficulty; and it must be a source of great consolation to them to see that as great or greater difficulties have been mastered by others. Among the names in the table of contents, we are glad to find those of Thomas Baldwin and Lott Carey. The introductory essay is a production in the same spirit as the several memoirs, and worthy of a place in such a book. It is the design of the publishers to issue an additional volume in the course of a few months, and others as materials may present themselves and the public patronage may warrant. The number of memoirs in this volume is twenty-six. They describe the struggles and successes of men devoted to the various professions, and belonging to various nations. The history of Count Rumford, not found in the former issue, is appended to this, and several sketches which appeared before are now omitted, with reference to future publication in an enlarged form.

9. *Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation. A Book for the Times.* By an AMERICAN CITIZEN. With an introductory Essay. By CALVIN E. STOWE, D. D. Salem and Boston. John P. Jewett & Co. pp. 239. 12mo.

This work, which has already excited considerable attention, fully answers the object announced in the title. It is a dispassionate, philosophical statement of the principles of the gospel, in a manner adapted to win the unqualified assent of a thinking mind. The volume is un-

derstood to be the production of a legal gentleman of the State of Ohio. We rejoice to see the ability and learning of the other professions poured in, after this manner, into the treasury of the gospel. The work deserves a serious perusal.

10. *The Field of Promise, or Illustrations of the Importance and Usefulness of Sunday Schools.* By JOSEPH BELCHER, D. D. Boston. New England Sabbath School Union. pp. 157. 18mo.

In seventeen brief narratives, under attractive titles, Dr. B. illustrates the usefulness of Sabbath Schools. They are simple and quiet pieces, and will interest many of the children for whom they are designed.

11. *Onward! Right Onward!* 16mo. *I will be a Lady. A Book for Girls.* 16mo. *I will be a Gentleman. A Book for Boys.* 16mo. *Boy of Spirit. A Story for the Young.* 16mo.

These four little books, all by Mrs. L. C. TUTHILL, and published by Crosby & Nichols, Boston, form an admirable series for the entertainment and instruction of children and young persons. They are written with great vivacity and spirit, beautifully printed, and attractive in their appearance, and cannot fail to please as well as profit, and to profit as well as please.

12. *Light in the Dwelling, or a Harmony of the Four Gospels, with very short and simple remarks, adapted to Reading at Family Prayers, and arranged in 365 sections, for every day in the year.* By the author of the *Peep of Day*, &c. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1846. 548 pp. 8vo.

The plan and execution of this book are worthy of high commendation. A devotional reading of the Scriptures is of the greatest utility, and every help to it is to be warmly welcomed. The present book will be of great assistance to persons in the common walks of life, enabling them to extract from every passage its instruction, warning or comfort, and to use every portion of the word of God contained in the selections for some practical benefit.

13. *The Primary Phonotypic Reader, for the use of Schools and Families.* By S. P. ANDREWS and AUGUSTUS F. BOYLE. Boston, 1847.

The Phonographic Reader: a Complete Course of Instructive Reading Lessons in Phonography. By the same. Boston, 1846. Fifth edition.

The Complete Phonographic Class Book; containing a strictly inductive Exposition of Pitman's Phonography. By the same. Fifth edition. Boston, 1846.

The Anglo Saxon. A weekly Newspaper devoted to the Diffusion of Phonotypy. By the same. Vol. I, No. 1, Dec., 1846.

The Phonotypic Journal. July, 1845. February, 1846. Bath and London.

Phonography is the art of writing by letters or signs, which precisely represent the sounds of words. Phonotypy is the printing of words

spelt according to the sound. The inventor of the art is Isaac Pitman, of Bath, England, whose present age is about thirty-five years. He "enjoyed only the education of a national school," from which he was taken at the age of twelve years, and became under-clerk in the establishment of a clothier in the West of England, where his father was manager. While engaged in this business, he made strenuous and praiseworthy efforts to promote his literary culture, and at the age of nineteen he embarked in the work of teaching, under the auspices of the British and Foreign School Society. During his clerkship, he commenced the practice of short-hand, out of which gradually sprung his system of phonography; and out of this the kindred system of phonotypy. To the former, as a system of stenography affording valuable aid to reporters and others who have occasion to write briefly and with great rapidity, we see no objection. The stenographer, under any circumstances, must translate his manuscript at his leisure, to make it intelligible to others; and if his system is brief, flexible, convenient to himself, and capable of clear and ready interpretation by the writer, we know not why any one should object to it.

Of phonotypy, as it appears in the works at the head of this notice, we do not feel prepared to speak with approbation. Undoubtedly, our language exhibits numerous and singular anomalies in the spelling of words; but the authors of the new system seem to us to have greatly overrated them, and the inconveniences resulting from them. Having become stereotyped and incorporated among the living forms of the language, they occasion comparatively little inconvenience to readers. And, if they occupy the time of children who are learning to read, it is while they are at an age in which their time is of comparatively little value to them. Indeed, since our literature is, and for a long period to come is likely to be enshrined in the language as it is now printed, the present forms of orthography must be learned at some time; and we see not why they should not continue to be learned at the beginning, and once for all. To us it does not seem absolutely essential, as phonographers contend, that the sounds of letters should be invariably expressed by their names. It might be convenient in reducing to writing the language of a barbarous tribe. But the world has made respectable proficiency in literature, and in the arts and sciences of civilized life, notwithstanding this barrier to improvement. Nor can we think, with a writer on the new system, that the ignorance of the lowest classes, especially in Great Britain, is to be attributed chiefly to the prevalence of another mode of printing and writing than that which is set forth in the theory of Mr. Pitman. The writers on this subject are extremely sanguine of its success. We admire and respect their enthusiastic devotion to what seems to them a worthy cause. When, however, they speak of their system as an extraordinary reformation, of its making a great impression, and of its seeming "inevitably destined to a most rapid and successful career, until it shall at no distant day entirely supersede our present method of writing in the general business of life," we think they take counsel too confidently of their hopes; or perhaps rely insensibly upon that principle of human nature which prompts men to go wherever there is a crowd, or to run after any thing which is reported to have produced a wonderful excitement. There are some

difficulties, however, which prevent us from giving our assent to the innovation proposed.

The beautiful study of etymologies must be swallowed up by this new method of spelling, which to our minds would be a serious objection. Even if it be affirmed that the learned would still retain a knowledge of the present mode of writing and printing, it is obvious that they must, in the event of the general prevalence of phonography, be burdened with the learning of two systems of orthography instead of one, and be constantly compelled to translate the phonotypic into the etymological orthography.

In order to make out as strong a case as possible in favor of the new method, our phonographers seem to us to overshoot the mark by making the case too strong, and reducing the whole matter to ridicule. Thus the author of the *Phonographic Reader* (p. 10) asserts that, so anomalous is the customary method of spelling in our language, that "a foreigner who had never seen the word *scissors* might write it in any one of 1,745,222 different modes, and in every case find authority in other words of the language to justify him for his use of each letter or combination." As an example, he spells the word *scissors* in the following manner, being only one method out of the hundreds of thousands,—*schiesourrhce*. In an article in the *Bath Phonotypic Journal*, we find several more precious specimens of kindred orthography; as, *gnuitheirrh*—neither; *phaighpheawraibt*—favorite; *psourrphuakntw*—servant; *eolotthowghrhoighuay*—orthography; *psoughphthleigh*—softly. If a letter or combination of letters have a peculiar sound in one word in the language or in a class of words, would a foreigner be likely to suppose that this exception must be necessarily the general rule of the language? Could a foreigner, not divested of common sense, be found, who would write *scissors*, *orthography*, or *softly*, in the manner described above? *Credat Judæus*. We contend that no person would be likely to hit so far from the truth. But the design of the reformers is to institute a method which will save children and adults the necessity of learning to spell. Truly, a royal road is opened here also. In an age when knowledge is masticated for the use of babes, in all departments, the science of spelling, likewise, is to be put into the phonetic hopper, and comminuted to order for the toothless who cannot, and for the indolent who will not, grind it for their own use in the old fashioned way.

The phonographers affirm that by the use of this system, new facility will be given in learning foreign languages; and "all the immense variety of existing alphabets may be merged into one, and thus one great stumbling-block to the student of languages, especially of oriental languages, immediately removed." We suppose the plan is, to apply the phonetic alphabet to all languages; this, however, has not been done; nor, we suspect, will all nations consent that it should be. And if all literature, European, Asiatic and African, is not written and printed phonotypically, we cannot conceive how the system is to facilitate the learning of foreign languages. But the writer seems to imagine that the chief labor of learning a foreign language is to learn its alphabet and sounds. This, however, is in effect no "stumbling-block" at all. To collect, compare, comprehend and become familiar

with the grammatical forms and the idioms of a strange tongue, "*hoc opus, hic labor est.*"

The phonographers themselves seem not to have settled fully their phonetic signs. Thus, the "Class Book" (1846) has a form, the capital letter of which resembles the Greek *Psi*, and has the force of *ew*; the "Reader" (1847) omits this character. The latter work has a character representing the sound of *u* in *tube*; the former omits it entirely.

There is also an uncertainty in the spelling of words by this new system. Comstock's system differs from Pitman's; and some practitioners express their words in forms differing from both. The orthography of words is subjected to the greatest uncertainty. The authors say, (Phonographic Class Book, p. 15), "It is not the province or business of phonography to teach the pronunciation of words, but merely to furnish the means of writing them in whatever manner the writer may choose to pronounce them. In this manner we shall be able to show how different writers actually do pronounce, which cannot be ascertained by the old method of writing; and thus phonography will doubtless be the means of finally settling pronunciation by one uniform standard among all who speak the language." If this be so, every writer having the liberty, according to this system, of spelling his words according to his own taste and his own pronunciation of them, the foundation is laid for endless uncertainties. No standard exists in the language, except the varying pronunciation of different persons, learned or ignorant, and, for aught that appears, one is as correct as another. We have, in this diversity, no index to that which is correct, no basis for a personal judgment in the case; but only the privilege, the helpless privilege, of discovering "how different writers actually do pronounce." And missionaries, so far from being able to print a foreign language with ease and certainty, mingling as they will with all ranks in society, and having from various quarters a varying pronunciation, will never be able to decide what language they are printing, or whether they are printing a language generally intelligible at all.

So, in the actual spelling out of sounds, we find that these phonographers have committed, what, in our view, are serious errors in pronunciation. But, as in some religious sects which have no written creed nor common platform, as a universal standard, so here, these errors in question are chargeable not to the system, but to the individuals committing them. Thus in the phonotypic form of the Lord's prayer, we have the last syllable of the word "evil," represented by the letter *u*, as sounded in *cûr*. But we have the same expression of the sound of the vowel in the last syllable of *kingdom*, *deliver*, *temptation*, *innocent*, *impotent*, and in the first syllable of *additional*, *appendix*, *catholical*, *catholicism*. Now to a not very delicate ear, we think a difference is perceptible between the sound of the vowel in the last syllable of the word "evil," and in the last syllable of the words "kingdom, etc." And to pronounce the first syllables of the four other words without reference to the *a* sound, seems to us a barbarism of which no etymological scholar would ever be guilty.

In applying the system of phonotypy to foreign languages, for example to the French, the whole train of grammatical laws seems to be necessarily obscured, if not subverted. The eye ceases to guide the

young student to the forms of grammatical analysis. A phonographic grammar is demanded to each language, or the scholar in the elementary periods of his study, is lost in a sea of inextricable difficulties; neither sail, nor helm, nor oar, sun nor star is left him, and in vain does he seek help from the forms of words, "in wandering mazes lost." Indeed, in the modern languages of Europe, in which, to so great an extent, the same letters and combinations of letters uniformly represent the same sounds, we see far less reason for the so called reform, than in languages so abnormal, in this respect, as our own.

Several phonographic magazines have been established in England, societies organized, and a "printing-reformation fund" instituted. Two or three more important works have also been either completed or commenced in phonotypy, as the Bible, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and the *Vicar of Wakefield*. The Normal Schools of Massachusetts, we understand, give some attention to the system, especially as it illustrates the force of the various letters and combinations of letters. Some gentlemen of high standing have petitioned for its introduction into the public schools; and if we are correctly informed, the public schools in two important cities in the State of New York make it a part of the daily instruction of the children. While we feel high respect for the character of the gentlemen principally concerned in advocating this innovation, we are unable to accord to it our praise. We are anxious, in every possible way, to secure the promotion of education among the people; but we have no confidence that this system will in any important manner, conduce to that end.

14. *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays.* By ALEXANDER H. EVERETT. Second Series. Boston, James Monroe & Co. 1847. pp. 475. 12mo.

The Essays of Mr. Everett collected in this volume are highly interesting, and deserve a place among our permanent literature. They are sufficiently varied in character to attract the attention of most readers, and cannot fail to impart instruction, pleasure and intellectual enlargement. We are glad to see them in such a form, and cheerfully commend them to the notice of the admirers of elegant literature.

15. *An Introduction to the Study of the Greek Language, containing an Outline of the Grammar with Appropriate Exercises.* By A. C. KENDRICK, Professor of Greek in Madison University. Second Edition. Revised and Enlarged. Hamilton, N. Y. Boston, Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. pp. 173. 12mo. 1847.

This excellent introduction by Prof. Kendrick has attained an extensive and well deserved reputation. It teaches Greek thoroughly and philosophically, and indicates in the author a praiseworthy degree of skill in elementary knowledge and in the power of instruction. A student commencing the study of Greek with such a Manual, we are confident will make great progress, and from its faithful use will reap the highest advantage. It is an honor to the author, and to the University from which it proceeds, and may be set by the side of the small Greek Grammar of Kühner, as a more condensed introduction to the rudiments of Greek literature.

ARTICLE IX.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICA.

Gould, Kendall & Lincoln have in press *Principles of Zoölogy ; or History of the Races of Animals*, both extinct and living, with reference to their structure and purposes, for the use of Colleges and Schools. By Prof. L. AGASSIZ and A. A. GOULD, M. D.

The same firm are about to issue a volume on church order and discipline, after the scriptural model, by WILLIAM CROWELL ; with an Introductory Essay by Prof. H. J. RIPLEY.

Chambers's *Cyclopædia of English Literature*, from the same publishing house, has reached the fifth number, extending to Dr. Barrow, A. D. 1689. The work is admirably adapted to the wants of those who, with small means and a literary taste, desire to see specimens of English literature of every successive period, with brief biographies of the principal authors. Such has been the demand for the work, that it has been found necessary to issue a second edition of the first three numbers. Besides the embellishments of the Edinburgh edition, several fine steel-plate engravings have been added. Shakspeare and Addison have appeared, and future numbers are to be adorned with a fine engraving of Byron, a full length figure of Dr. Johnson, etc.

The new translation of Neander on the Planting of the Christian church, from the press of Crocker and Brewster, is nearly ready. The first volume will be issued as soon as the sheets can be struck off from the plates, and the second will probably follow in three months.

A work on the subject of Atonement, entitled "*Atonement and Sacrifice*," by Rev. S. W. LYND, D. D., is announced as in press, by the American Baptist Publication Society.

ENGLAND.

Among new publications, we notice that Alison's *History of Europe* is to be issued in London in eighteen or twenty monthly volumes. The second volume appeared in February. It is to be hoped that this edition will omit the errors in respect to American manners, history and institutions which detract from the value of the work, and which have been largely pointed out in some of our Reviews ; especially in the *Christian Examiner*.

The life of the late Rev. William Yates, by JAMES HOBY, D. D., was advertised to appear in London the first of March.

Milton's *Paradise Lost* has just been issued in England in phonotypic characters. It is stated that the number of converts to the system amounts to 20,000. The *Gentleman's Magazine* speaks not unfavorably of the system of phonography ; it affirms that there is no reasonable objection to it on etymological grounds, inasmuch as scholars will always retain the Johnsonian spelling of words, and be easily able, passing through an additional step in the process, to arrive at the elements. The statement that Messrs. Andrews & Boyle, of Boston, have successfully taught a class of adult negroes, entirely illiterate, to read in seventy-two hours, is thought to be an argument in favor of the system.

A new and cheap Lexicon, the "*National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge*," is appearing in London in twelve volumes, demi-octavo, of more than 500 pages each. It is issued in monthly and weekly parts, and in volumes, one in four months. It is described as a much fuller and cheaper work than the *Penny Cyclopædia*.

A new era seems to be commencing in England in respect to the pursuits of Biblical literature. Though the publications issued may not, in general, indicate the most extensive and profound erudition, it is cheering to see a reviving taste for works in this department. Among them we notice the following :—The *Psalms in Hebrew*, with a Critical, Exegetical and Philological Commentary, by GEORGE PHILLIPS, B. D., of Cambridge. Also, a *Lexicon of the Hebrew*

Language, by THOMAS JARRETT, professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. It is in two parts, Hebrew-English and English-Hebrew. It has an Introduction containing a Hebrew Grammar, a separate Vocabulary for each chapter, and a Grammatical Analysis of every word in the Book of Genesis. It has also an Appendix, containing a Chaldee Grammar, a Lexicon of all the Chaldee words in the Old Testament, and a Grammatical Analysis of all the forms that occur. This work is in press. From the above account of it, it is evidently sufficiently full, and more than sufficiently minute in its analytical praxis. A thorough analysis of a very few chapters would be abundantly sufficient for all the purposes of the student. To extend it to every word in the Book of Genesis is a superfluous labor.

Another work in the same department of literature is in course of publication in London. It is issued quarterly in octavo. Vol. I Part I only has appeared. It is a Synopsis of Criticisms on those passages of the Old Testament in which modern commentators have differed from the authorized version, together with an explanation of various difficulties in the Hebrew and English texts. It exhibits 1. The Hebrew Text. 2. The Septuagint. 3. The Authorized Version. 4. The explanations of commentators who support the present version, and who support the Hebrew Text as it has been corrupted or misunderstood by translators. The explications of the various commentators are given in succession, from the earliest writers downwards. The editor is Rev. RICHARD A. F. BARRETT, of King's College, Cambridge. Vol. I Part 2 was to be issued March 1.

GERMANY.

We find it stated in a London periodical that the sum of 4000 thalers, the produce of the Lectures delivered at the University of Berlin during the last winter, is to be devoted to the establishment of "Libraries for the People," in different parts of the town, whence the poorer classes may obtain gratis instructive works for perusal. The plan originated with Prof. Raumer, who has been entrusted with the appropriation of the money for the purpose.

We see also advertised an Attempt at a Polyglott of European Poesy, by ADOLF ELLISEN. It originated in the idea that the intellectual development of all nations is reflected in their poetry. The work exhibits the original and a German translation. The Basque and Celtic poetry occupies the first place. After this is to follow the Greek, then the Roman, and so on, until the present time. Such a work must have great interest for an enthusiastic student of European literature.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Chinese Professorship has been established in the London University. But notwithstanding the free intercourse of England with the Eastern world, it is said to be extremely difficult to find an individual with knowledge sufficiently profound to fill the office.

It is stated by a writer in "*Il Mondo Illustrato*,"—an Italian periodical published at Turin,—that in Italy in 1836, the number of periodical publications was 171; in 1845, 205. The table which presents the details exhibits a decline in the Venetian States, but an advance in all other parts of Italy. The greatest advance is in the States of the Church. A large proportion of the Italian periodicals is devoted to the abstruse sciences, mathematics, physics, jurisprudence, medicine, surgery, the fine arts, etc. Very little free discussion on political questions is ventured. Hence the number of Italian periodicals is no index to the general intelligence and diffusion of enlightened views among the people.

The same writer gives the following statistics of the periodical literature of several countries in Europe: Austria, including the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, 159; Germanic Confederation, including the Austrian and Prussian Dependencies, 1836; France 1294; Belgium 140; Great Britain 541; Russia 139.

QUARTERLY LIST.

DEATHS.

EDWIN H. BAILEY, West Hartwick, Otsego Co., N. Y., Feb. 6, aged 33.	MILTON W. BALL, (licentiate), Dub- lin, N. H., Dec. 23, aged 25. GEORGE W. LATHAM, Norfolk, Va., Jan 21, aged 41.
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